No. 5573.149

No. 192-200

F770.1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
CHILDREN'S BUREAU - - - - PUBLICATION No. 198

CHILDREN IN FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNERIES

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

CHILDREN IN FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNERIES

A Survey in Seven States

By

ELLEN NATHALIE MATTHEWS

Bureau Publication No. 198

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1930

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. - - - - - - - - Price 40 cents

	Page
Maryland	85
Introduction	85
The canneries	87
Location, size, and product	87
Equipment and sanitation	89
The labor supply	92
Character of labor supply	92
Recruiting family labor in Baltimore	95
Baltimore families migrating for work in Maryland canneries	96
Laws regulating child labor in canneries	97
Child labor in canneries	98
The working children	98
Ages of children and violations of age standard of State child labor law	99
Kinds of work	103
Prohibited or hazardous employment	106
Hours of work	107
Cannery work and schooling	114
Certification of minors	117
Extent	117
Issuing officers	121
Requirements for issuance	122
State supervision	125
Labor camps for cannery workers	125
Size of camps	125
Housing	126
Sanitation	129
Care of children	130
Illnesses in migratory families	131
Summary	131
Michigan	135
Introduction	135
The canneries	135
Location, size, and product	135
Equipment and sanitation	137
The labor supply	139
Laws regulating child labor in canneries	140
Child labor in canneries	141
The working children	141
Ages of children and violations of age standard of State child labor law	141
Kinds of work	141
Hours of work	143
Cannery work and schooling	146
Certification of minors	147
Extent	147
Issuing officers	149
Certificate forms	149
Requirements for issuance	151
State supervision	152
Summary	153
New York	154
Introduction	154
The canneries	155
Location, size, and product	155
Equipment and sanitation	157
The labor supply	159
Laws regulating child labor in canneries	160
Child labor in canneries	161
Age and sex of children	161
Violations of age standard of the State child labor law	162
Kinds of work	162
Hours of work	163
Cannery work and schooling	167
Certification of minors	168
Extent	168
Issuing officers	169

New York—Continued.
Certification of minors—Continued. Page
Requirements for issuance 170
State supervision 173
Labor camps for cannery workers 174
Summary 176
Washington 178
Introduction 178
The canneries 178
Laws regulating child labor in canneries 179
Child labor in canneries 180
Age and sex of children 180
Kinds of work 181
Hours of work 181
Cannery work and schooling 182
Certification of minors 182
Extent 182
Issuing officers 183
Summary 184
Wisconsin 185
Introduction 185
The canneries 185
Location, size, and product 185
Equipment and sanitation 187
The labor supply 189
Laws regulating child labor in canneries 189
Child labor in canneries 191
Age and sex of minors 191
Violations of age standard of State child labor law 192
Kinds of work 192
Hours of work 194
Cannery work and schooling 198
Certification of minors 199
Extent 199
Issuing officers 200
Requirements for issuance 202
State supervision 203
Summary 205
Appendixes:
Appendix I.—Statistics of fruit and vegetable canning establishments in the United States, 1925 208
Appendix II.—State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (January 1, 1930) 210
Appendix III.—State regulation of labor camps 223

ILLUSTRATIONS

Facing page
Housing of migratory workers in Maryland and Delaware 50
Occupations of cannery workers—peeling tomatoes and snipping beans; unloading tomatoes at a rural cannery 90

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, January 23, 1930.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on Children in Fruit and Vegetable Canneries, by Ellen Nathalie Matthews, director of the industrial division of the Children's Bureau. Mathilde Selig was in charge of the field work for the study, except in the States of New York and Washington. The New York inquiry was made and a preliminary account of the findings in that State prepared by Ethel Hanks Van Buskirk. Assistance was given by Alice Channing, associate director of the industrial division, in the analysis of material for the report, especially that relating to equipment and sanitation of the canneries and housing of migratory workers.

Acknowledgment is made of the cooperation given the bureau in the conduct of the inquiry by the management of the canneries, members of State departments of labor, employment-certificate officers, and especially State officials responsible for the enforcement of child labor laws who read the sections of the report relating to their own States.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

CHILDREN IN FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNERIES

INTRODUCTION

Women and children have always formed the greater part of the labor supply in fruit and vegetable canneries. The proportion of women wage earners, about one-half, has remained constant, but the employment of children has fluctuated, and in the last decennial census of manufactures has shown a marked decline.[1] This decline set in later than in other industries. Many child labor laws of 15 or 20 years ago exempted canneries from their provisions; it was alleged that children were necessary to the industry because of the perishable nature of the crops, the short season, and the scarcity of workers, and it was urged that the cannery was a healthful place for children to work. In more recent legislation such exemption has been far less common. Investigations in important canning States, such as Maryland and New York,[2] gave publicity to the extensive employment of very young children in canneries and the deplorable conditions, especially the long hours and the insanitary surroundings, under which many of them worked. Perfection of canning machinery changed the character of the cannery so that the old plea that cannery work for children is more like agricultural than factory work lost whatever force it may have had, while at the same time the increasing use of machinery, such as the corn-husking and the closing machine, and the installation in an increasing number of canneries of these as well as of such labor-saving devices as the mechanical conveyor, eliminated much of the hand labor formerly done by children. Power machinery requires adult operators, chiefly men, and between 1909 and 1919 the proportion of men among the wage earners in fruit and vegetable canneries, hitherto almost stationary, increased from 42 to 50 per cent.[3]

No census figures are available as to employment of children in canneries since 1919. Some of the factors influencing the decline in the employment of children in canneries between 1909 and 1919 are no longer operative. New machines are not being perfected so

[1] The Decennial Census of Manufactures through 1919 gave the average number of wage earners in fruit and vegetable canneries by sex under 16 years of age and 16 years of age and over. The proportion of the total who were under 16 was 8 per cent in 1900, 9 per cent in 1909, and 2 per cent in 1919. (Computed from figures in special reports of the Census Office: Manufactures, part 3, Special Reports on Selected Industries, 1905, p. 400, Washington, 1908; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1919, vol. 10, Manufactures, Reports for Selected Industries, p. 66, Washington, 1923.) The percentages of workers under 16 are based on the average number of wage earners for the entire year, a considerably smaller number than the average for the actual time of operation in establishments idle a portion of the year, especially in the case of women and children, whose employment is most likely to be in short-time canneries at the height of the season. Hence, the proportions can not be regarded as absolute, but as merely indicative of the trend. For the proportion of children under 16 among the workers in the representative canneries visited at the peak of the season in the present survey in 1925, see p. 3. The Biennial Census of Manufactures issued since 1919 does not give the number of wage earners under 16 years of age.

[2] See Employment of Children in Maryland Industries, in Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, No. 96, 1911, pp. 466-479 (Washington, 1912); Industrial Conditions in the Canning Industry of New York State, in Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 759-915 (Albany, 1913).

[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1919, vol. 10, Manufactures, Reports for Special Industries, p. 63.

rapidly; no machine can sort and cap berries, and no satisfactory machine has yet been invented to take the place of the tomato peeler. Much hand labor is still essential, and the industry seems to be growing steadily. The Federal Government has no control over child labor as in 1920 (the Federal child labor tax law in effect at that time applied to canneries as well as other manufacturing establishments), and some States, including several in which canning is an important child-employing industry, still exempt canneries from some or all of the provisions of the child labor laws. The present inquiry, the only extensive one in many years, showed that wherever fruit and vegetables were being canned children were being employed. Although the most flagrant abuses of the past have been corrected, many of these workers are very young, and many are employed for exceedingly long hours and at night. It is the intent of most of the laws to protect children in canneries equally with those in other manufacturing industries, but in actual practice the full measure of protection is being withheld in many important canning districts.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU SURVEY

In the canning seasons of 1923, 1925, and 1926 the Children's Bureau made a series of studies relating to the extent and conditions of child labor in fruit and vegetable canneries in seven States. The first of these inquiries was made in the State of Washington in 1923 at the request of a number of State organizations interested in child welfare, as part of a survey of the employment of women and children in the fruit-growing and canning industries of the State made by the bureau in cooperation with the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.[4] In 1925 extensive surveys were conducted in six other States—Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New York, and Wisconsin—and in 1926 a supplemental inquiry was made in New York.[5]

The study was made in the principal fruit and vegetable canning sections of the country—the Atlantic Coast, Middle West, and Pacific Coast States. The States in the survey had 41 per cent of the establishments in the country canning vegetables, fruits, pickles, jellies, preserves, and sauces and employed 36 per cent of the average number of wage earners in the industry. Among them were the principal tomato-canning State of the country, Maryland, and the principal tomato-canning State of the Middle West, Indiana; the two leading pea-canning States, Wisconsin and New York; three of the leading corn-canning States, Maryland, Indiana, and New York; the four States that lead in the canning of beans, New York, Maryland, Wisconsin, and Michigan; and three States that hold high rank in the canning of fruits, Washington, New York, and Michigan. (See table, Appendix I, pp. 208–209.)

About half the canneries in these States (560) were visited. (Table 1.) They employed at the time of the inquiry 56,828 workers, 60

[4] Child Labor in Fruit and Hop Growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast, U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 151 (Washington, 1926), and Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington, U. S. Women's Bureau Publication No. 47 (Washington, 1926).

[5] The report for each State has been submitted to the State officials responsible for the enforcement of the child labor law in that State, and such significant changes in enforcement procedure as have been made since the date of this study and were reported by these officials have been inserted in footnotes (see pp. 132, 134, 172, 177, 196.). Changes in legislation have also been noted, but practically no changes have been made affecting the work of children under 16 in canneries.

per cent of the total number reported by the census as employed at the peak month of the canning season in the canneries of the States in which they were located.[6] It was possible to include a larger proportion of establishments in some States than in others, but in all the States the ones selected were scattered throughout the most important canning districts and are probably representative of conditions throughout these States.[7]

TABLE 1.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children under 16 years of age, average number of persons employed per cannery, and number and sex of persons and number of children under 16 years of age employed in canneries in specified States*

State	Canneries visited				Persons employed				
					All ages			Children under 16 years	
	Total	Employing children under 16 years	Not employing children under 16 years	Average number of persons employed per cannery	Total	Male	Female	Number	Per cent of total persons employed
Total	560	447	113	101	[1] 56,828	25,615	27,508	3,403	6.0
Delaware	71	69	2	105	7,427	3,233	4,194	662	8.9
Indiana	125	66	59	114	14,275	7,088	7,187	493	3.5
Maryland	211	201	10	78	[2] 16,379	6,919	9,336	1,564	9.5
Michigan	35	31	4	69	2,428	1,003	1,425	229	9.4
New York	56	34	22	128	[3] 7,171	3,695	3,259	121	1.7
Washington	16	15	1	210	3,364	----	----	133	4.0
Wisconsin	46	31	15	126	5,784	3,677	2,107	201	3.5

[1] Includes 3,705 for whom sex was not reported.
[2] Includes 124 for whom sex was not reported.
[3] Includes 217 for whom sex was not reported.

Three hundred and seventy-nine canneries (70 per cent of the total number visited [8]), all located in Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, and New York, were canning tomatoes or tomato products; 58 in the same four States were canning corn; 43 in two States, New York and Wisconsin, were canning peas; and 29, in all the States in the study, were canning beans, although in none of the States except Wisconsin were visits made at the height of the bean season. Fruits were being canned in the canneries visited in three States, Michigan, New York, and Washington, including cherries in Michigan and New York, berries of all kinds in Michigan and Washington, pears, peaches, plums, and apples in New York and Washington. Other products being worked on included beets, kraut, spinach, and pickles. Nine-tenths of the canneries in the six States for which information was obtained as to the crops canned were working on only one crop at the time they were visited. The majority packed other crops at other seasons. About half in Delaware and Maryland did so, canning chiefly string beans or lima beans and corn. More than half in Indiana and Wisconsin and almost all in New York and Michigan also packed other products, such as corn, beans, beets, squash, kraut, pickles, and in New York and Michigan various fruits in addition to vegetables.

[6] Computed from Biennial Census of Manufactures. 1925, p. 70. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1928. (See Appendix I, p. 208.)
[7] In Michigan the study was confined to the fruit-canning section in the western part of the State (see p. 135).
[8] Exclusive of the 16 canneries visited in the State of Washington, for which information was not obtained as to the crops being canned at the time of the survey.

A few canneries with a great variety of products in Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, and New York operated throughout the year.

Because of the highly seasonal character of the industry the study was concentrated into the peak months of the fruit and vegetable canning season—July, August, and September—and in every State except Michigan the canneries were visited in the month in which the census reported that the largest number of wage earners were employed. In New York, which has practically two peak months—July and September—canneries were visited in both these months, September, 1925, and July, 1926. It was not, of course, the height of the season for each establishment when it was visited. In fact, so brief and irregular is the canning season that a number of plants had closed or were temporarily shut down for lack of work at the time attempts were made to visit them, others were visited between crops so that they had at the time little or no work to do, and some had not yet opened for the season's work. In some localities weather or other conditions had affected certain crops so that although the years in which the study was made—especially 1925, when most of the canneries were visited—were in general good canning years, bad seasons were reported in certain localities and for certain crops. But on the whole the study presents a cross-section of conditions in fruit and vegetable canneries during the principal months of a good canning season.

Information was gathered as to the ages, hours of work, and occupations of children under 16 years of age employed in canneries, the physical conditions under which they work (except in the survey made in Washington), and the enforcement of child labor laws applicable to canneries. Special attention was given to the problem of the migratory child worker in the canning industry, including a study of migratory families from Baltimore.

In each State a study was made of the hours of labor of minors of both sexes of employment-certificate age who were found at work in canneries. Information as to hours was thus obtained in Wisconsin for minors of 16 and in Indiana for minors of 16 and 17 years of age (as employment certificates were required in these States for children of these ages), making possible in these States a comparision between minors whose hours were and were not regulated. Information as to hours was taken from time records wherever they were available (see p. 17). For those with no time records statements as to the hours of work were obtained in most cases from at least two adult witnesses in addition to the statements of parents and employers. The child's own statement as to his hours of work, although always obtained, was accepted only in the absence of time records and of statements of adult witnesses and parents. Time records were usually taken only for the last pay period, usually a week, preceding the date of the bureau agent's visit to the cannery. Where information for this period was not available or was not representative of the usual running time of the cannery or where the plant had been shut down, the last preceding typical pay period was taken.

THE LABOR SUPPLY

CHARACTER OF LABOR SUPPLY

The canning of fruit and vegetables is one of the most highly seasonal of all manufacturing industries, requiring a highly mobile labor supply. In its slackest month the canning industry employed in 1919 less than one-tenth of the workers employed at the peak of the season, whereas in all manufacturing industries combined the slackest month shows nine-tenths of the number employed at the peak.[8a]

Some canneries run the greater part of the year, filling in the winter months when fruits and vegetables are out of season with work on such products as spaghetti, hominy and breakfast foods, pickles, and pork and beans, the raw material for which either can be kept indefinitely or can be prepared for canning during the summer months. These are in most cases large plants providing employment eight or nine months of the year or even longer to a relatively stable working force. The great majority of canneries, however, handle only one or two crops grown in the immediate vicinity. Their "run" is therefore measured by the season of the particular fruit or vegetable in which they specialize. As a rule they operate only during the summer, or during the summer and early autumn, and their season in some cases is only from six weeks to three months at best. The seasons are not only brief but they are also highly irregular, the dates of beginning and ending the season's work being uncertain, for the delivery of crops, owing to weather and farming conditions, is irregular. Moreover, owing to their perishable nature, they must be worked on as soon as possible after delivery. Such canneries are usually situated in the rural sections in which the crops canned are grown, in places convenient for the farmers to deliver the produce directly to the canners, and the local labor supply in some cases is insufficient.

The labor needs of canneries vary greatly according to size and product. Some employ fewer than 25 persons, but large plants often need 500 or 600 workers. Establishments packing only tomatoes or only string beans, especially in rural districts, are likely to be small. Those equipped with the necessary machinery for packing tomato products, pulp or catchup, or for corn and peas, or equipped to handle more than one product at a time and operating for several months are usually larger. The average number of persons employed per cannery at the time of the survey in the canneries visited in the seven States was 101. This average varied from 69 in one State to 210 in another. (Table 1.)

Women and children have always constituted a considerable part of the working force in canneries. In nearly three-fourths of the canneries in operation in 1925 and 1926 in the States included in the Children's Bureau study, 50 per cent or more of the workers were women and children under 16 years of age. The proportion of canneries in which at least half the workers were women and children was highest in the tomato-canning State of Delaware and lowest in the pea-canning State of Wisconsin. In the four States in which tomatoes and small fruits were the principal products packed, more than half the employees were women and minors under 16, the proportion varying from 62 per cent in Michigan to 52 per cent in

[8a] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, vol. 8, Manufactures, pp. 21–36.

Indiana. In these four States women and girls alone constituted at least half the working force. Only in Wisconsin, where peas were being packed, and in New York, where corn, peas, and a variety of other products were being canned, were men in the majority, no doubt because of the large number of machine processes in both pea and corn packing establishments.

MIGRATORY FAMILY LABOR

A great many canneries, even in small places, get all their labor locally, either from the town in which the cannery is located or from near-by towns and villages. In order to get together all available labor in places where the transportation facilities are limited many canners provide transportation for workers, sending out trucks for them each morning and returning them to their homes at night. During the rush seasons in some vegetable-growing localities the canneries make a special appeal to the townspeople and to the farmers and their families to work at the cannery to save the crop. Many women who have no other gainful employment during the year go to work in the canneries during the short canning season. In spite of these sources of supply, however, local labor is not always sufficient and must be supplemented by labor brought in to the cannery community from the outside. The practice of supplementing local labor by importing workers has been well established for many years in the canneries of the Eastern States. About half the Delaware and Maryland canneries visited by agents of the Children's Bureau employed migratory labor. The Pennsylvania Department of Labor reports that Pennsylvania canneries, also, resort to it.[9] In New York, though some labor is imported for cannery work, the practice appears to be decreasing; in 1912 more than two-fifths of the canneries visited during the survey made by the New York Factory Investigating Commission imported migratory labor;[10] whereas in 1925 and 1926 only about one-fourth of the canneries visited by the Children's Bureau did so. Migratory labor is used to some extent in the fruit and vegetable canneries of the Pacific coast[11] and in the oyster and shrimp canneries of the Gulf coast,[12] but is uncommon in the Middle West. No doubt custom has a great deal to do with the importation of migratory labor, for, although the canneries in the Eastern States, at least in Delaware and Maryland, where importation of labor is most common, are on the whole in smaller centers of population than in the mid-western States, yet many canneries in the mid-western States which do not import migratory labor are also in very small places. Of the canneries visited in Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin in places of less than 1,000 population almost none used migratory workers, whereas a considerable number of the canneries in places of this size in the three Eastern States brought in labor from the outside—one-third in New York, nearly one-half in Maryland, and more than one-half in Delaware.

Most of the canneries of the Eastern States importing workers recruit family labor, largely women and children, from the Polish or

---

[9] The Canning Industry in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, vol. 12, no. 12, p. 3. Harrisburg, 1925.
[10] Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, p. 884.
[11] Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington, p. 42.
[12] Child Labor and Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast, pp. 69–70. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 98. Washington, 1922.

Italian sections of the large cities; but Negro family groups, also, usually from small towns or rural districts, are imported for cannery work in Delaware and Maryland. The canners maintain labor camps to house migratory families, give them their lodging rent free, and usually pay for their transportation at least to the cannery. Nearly 6,000 migratory persons, almost half of whom were children under 16, were living in 126 of the 143 cannery labor camps of Delaware and Maryland included in the Children's Bureau survey.[13] Life in the labor camps has obvious drawbacks for children in the overcrowding, the poor sanitation, and the lack of supervision of the young children who stay in the camps while their mothers are at work. A number of States, including all but one of those in the present study, have regulations for labor camps, which in some States fix much higher standards than in others. These regulations deal with such matters as the material and construction of buildings, window space and ventilation, cubic air space of sleeping rooms, garbage disposal, toilets, water supply, and drainage. (See Appendix III, p. 223.) Although legal regulation, especially where the regulations are specific in character and the State agency enforcing them has been active, has been effective in some States in bringing about an improvement in labor camps in recent years, the dirty, insanitary, and dangerously overcrowded cannery labor camp is by no means a thing of the past. Imported family labor means also that not only the children who work but younger children in the migrant families as well are away from their homes in many cases for weeks after the schools have opened in the fall. Seldom do local school officials compel or even encourage the children in cannery labor camps to attend local schools.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR

In the present survey the only children reported on were those working at the time the canneries were visited. In cases where the visit was made at the very beginning of the canning season, at the end, or between crops, the labor force was considerably smaller than at the peak. Many canneries in which no children were working at the time of the Children's Bureau visit had employed children earlier in the season. Many, moreover, were visited in September after the schools had opened. Nevertheless, children under 16 were found employed in 80 per cent of the canneries. (Table 1.) In all, 3,403 children under 16 years of age, 6 per cent of the total number of employees in the canneries included in the survey, were interviewed at their work. Many others who had been employed recently were interviewed outside the canneries. Undoubtedly many who were temporarily absent or who had been sent out of the cannery on the appearance of the bureau agents—a common practice in some places—were never located. But judging only from the proportion of workers under 16 actually found employed in these canneries, the number employed in all the canneries of the seven States included in the inquiry would have been at the season's peak at least 5,500.

[13] The population of the remaining camps visited in these States and of the New York cannery camps could not be learned. Some of the New York canneries have large colonies of migratory workers at the height of the canning season; 550 persons had been living in the labor camp of one of the canneries and 200 or more in two other camps, but the capacity of the other camps visited in New York was smaller.

The proportion of child workers was considerably greater in some States than in others, ranging from 10 per cent in Maryland and 9 per cent in Michigan and Delaware, where almost no canneries were without child workers, to 2 per cent in New York, where minors were found in less than two-thirds of the canneries. This variation among canning States in the extent to which children are employed in canneries is further illustrated by California (the principal State in the United States in the canning of fruits and vegetables), where, according to the State industrial-welfare commission, many establishments employed no children under 16, the large city canneries of San Francisco and Los Angeles employing practically none under 18 years of age.[14]

The extent to which minors are employed in canneries depends on a number of factors, of which one of the principal is the nature of the product canned. Tomatoes and berries, in the packing of which considerable work is done by hand processes that even quite young children can do, are the leading products on which children are employed. Formerly it was the custom to employ young children to husk corn, but machinery has now largely taken the place of hand husking, though in some rural canneries husking is still done by hand. In earlier investigations of child employment in canneries bean snipping, also, was a leading occupation, and 15 or 20 years ago New York State had large numbers of very young children doing this work. And, in spite of the introduction of bean-snipping machines, the practice of giving out a good deal of bean snipping to be done by hand by workers in their own homes (see pp. 143, 161, 191), and the fact that in none of the States except Wisconsin were the bean canneries visited at the height of the bean season, the Children's Bureau found a number of minors under 16 in establishments canning beans.

Tomato canneries employ many more young children than any other kind of canneries. (Table 2.) The great majority (70 per cent) of the 3,403 children under 16 and 87 per cent of the children under 14 found employed in the Children's Bureau study were in canneries packing tomatoes and tomato products. In addition a small proportion were in canneries packing tomatoes and some other product. Of the remaining children 5 per cent were working in establishments packing only corn, 3 per cent in canneries packing only string beans, and 4 per cent in canneries packing peas. The number of children employed in canning other vegetables, such as beets and lima beans, or other fruits than berries, is negligible. The children in fruit canneries, packing berries, cherries, pears, or other fruits, were 8 per cent of the total number found at work in the canneries visited.

[14] Industrial Welfare Commission of California Bulletin No. 1 (May, 1917), p. 65. Sacramento, 1917.

TABLE 2.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children under 16 years of age, average number of persons employed per cannery, and number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit*

Product	Canneries visited			Persons employed				
					Under 16 years		Under 14 years	
	Total	Employing children under 16 years	Average number of persons employed per cannery	All ages	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	560	447	101	56,828	3,403		1,127	
Total reporting product	558	446	101	56,470	3,397	100.0	1,127	100.0
Tomatoes only	272	248	70	19,007	1,953	57.5	893	79.2
Tomatoes and tomato products	67	46	137	9,189	398	11.7	89	7.9
Tomato products only	19	5	142	2,696	17	.5	1	.1
Corn	43	28	114	4,902	178	5.2	38	3.4
Peas	41	28	137	5,601	132	3.9	2	.2
Green beans	20	13	89	1,770	118	3.5	8	.7
Lima beans	2	2	79	157	21	.6	10	.9
Cherries	11	11	76	841	93	2.7	2	.2
Berries	12	11	52	624	69	2.0	19	1.7
Pears	10	8	244	2,437	52	1.5	6	.5
Peaches	1	1	25	25	2	.1		
Other	9	4	50	453	11	.3	1	.1
More than one product	51	41	172	8,768	353	10.4	58	5.1
Corn and tomatoes	12	10	251	3,011	111	3.3	12	1.1
Tomatoes and beans	6	6	121	724	39	1.1	13	1.2
Cherries and raspberries	8	7	74	589	47	1.4	4	.4
Other	25	18	178	4,444	156	4.6	29	2.6
Product not reported	2	1	179	358	6			

The kind of crop, which determines the amount of machinery used and the degree of skill required, is not alone responsible for variations in the employment of children in the canning industry. To some extent the differences between States have resulted from differences in the standards of the child labor laws either directly, as where age standards or educational or physical requirements vary, or indirectly, as where the existence or absence of restrictions on hours of labor tends to encourage or to restrict the employment of minors. Of considerable importance is the attitude of the canner toward compliance with the law, depending largely upon the extent to which he is familiar with it and the extent to which he is stimulated to compliance by State enforcing officials. In States where the latter take pains by frequent inspections and other means to keep employers informed as to the requirements of the law, and by checking up and prompt action in regard to violations show that negligence in conforming with the law will not be allowed, the proportion of child workers is in general relatively small, owing largely to the fact that few children under legal working age are employed.

The extent to which children find employment in the canneries of different localities depends also upon the local adult labor supply.

KINDS OF WORK

As a rule, adults in canneries pack the product into the cans, operate the machines, oversee the cooking processes, and do the heavy unskilled work. Girls and to some extent boys, as well as women, are employed in connection with the preparation of vegetables and fruit

for canning. Boys most often do odd jobs and miscellaneous work about the plants. Even the youngest children, boys and girls, peel tomatoes, husk corn by hand, snip beans, and hull and sort berries. Such work as sorting tomatoes and inspecting peas and cherries requires rather more care and is usually done by older girls.

Nearly half the children in all the canneries visited worked as tomato peelers, taking out the core of the tomato with a sharp paring knife and slipping off the skin which had been loosened by scalding. The work is light except in poorly equipped canneries in which the peelers are required to lift pails of waste from table to floor or from one table to another. Relatively few children under 16 do any other work connected with the preparation or packing of tomatoes. Sorting and trimming tomatoes used for tomato pulp (that is, removing defective tomatoes and cutting out bad spots) requires more care and is usually done by women and older girls. Filling cans is done in many tomato canneries by machinery; where hand packers do the work they are usually women with experience in packing, but these are jobs that children sometimes do. In tomato canneries not equipped with mechanical conveyors boys are sometimes found carrying heavy pails of tomatoes over wet and slippery floors from the scalding machines to the peelers or lifting and emptying heavy pails of tomato waste.

In corn-canning establishments girls husk, sort or trim, and cut corn. To some extent boys also do this work, though boys are generally engaged in various miscellaneous jobs. Corn husking may be done by hand or by machine. Corn trimming and sorting is done sitting or standing at moving belts conveying the husked ears of corn, and consists of picking out defective ears and cutting out bad places in the ears. Few children cut corn, which is usually a machine operation.

In string-bean canning the chief occupation in which children are employed is bean snipping, and in pea canning the only occupation of any importance for children is picking, the picker or inspector sitting at a belt conveyor on which peas, previously shelled by machine, pass, and picking out defective ones and bits of refuse.

Girls and occasionally boys in fruit canning and preserving establishments clean, sort, and inspect fruit and pack it by hand in cans. Inspectors and sorters of raspberries and blackberries in some places stand at stationary tables equipped with sinks or bowls in which they wash the berries and in others at moving conveyors from which they remove defective fruit. Strawberry cappers usually sit at stationary tables, removing the caps or hulls from the berries. Inspecting cherries is generally done at moving belts, and the workers sometimes complain of dizziness caused by watching the continuously moving cherries.

In all kinds of canneries, regardless of the nature of the product that is canned, children do miscellaneous work. Inspecting cans "on the line," removing cans from the closing machine and piling them in crates, trucking and carrying crates, boxes, and filled cans, handling empty cans, piling and stacking filled cans in warehouses, labeling cans, making boxes, and stamping boxes are only some of the innumerable kinds of general work, common to all canneries, in which boys, and to some extent girls, are employed. A great many, including many under 14 years of age, work as "can boys" and "can girls."

Stationed in the cannery lofts or on elevated platforms they take the empty cans from stacks and drop them down chutes that carry them to the filling machines on the floor below, or they help to unload empty cans from freight cars and carry them in baskets or truck them across the cannery yard to the warehouse or lofts where they or others stack them. Boys and girls in "line" jobs work at the line, or moving belt, which conveys the filled cans in single file from the packers or filling machine to the closing machine. They guide or watch the filled cans, or add brine or juice to the contents, or see that the cans pass freely into the exhaust, which heats the cans before they are closed. Trucking and carrying, or piling and stacking filled cans is much heavier work, and taking cans from the closing machine and piling them in crates is perhaps one of the most taxing jobs in which boys are employed in canneries. The boy who "piles in" takes the cans as they drop down a chute from the closing machine and piles them in large iron crates. In some canneries the work is known as "ringing" or "strapping" cans, from the leather strap the boy throws about the cans in order to move several at a time.

Relatively few children operate machines, though many work in connection with machinery.

The work done by children of different ages is described in greater detail in the separate sections on the different States.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Wet floors and tables sloppy from water and juice, steam and heat in poorly ventilated workrooms, dangerous stairways, constant standing, and poor sanitation often add to the discomfort or to the actual hazard of the work. In some of the large canneries putting out a variety of products and operating a large part of the year, especially in cities or large towns, conditions are similar to those in any up-to-date factory. But rural canneries packing only one or at most two crops, especially those packing only tomatoes, and operating only a few weeks of the year, are in some cases little more than large barns or sheds converted to factory use by the addition of machinery and specially constructed floors, with but few or no conveniences to lessen the discomfort of the workers.

One of the most objectionable features in canneries, even some of the better type, are wet and sloppy floors. Although workers often wear heavy shoes or galoshes or stand on boards or boxes, and wear newspapers or burlap tied about them, their feet are often wet and their clothes saturated with fruit or vegetable juice. Water from scalding machines, washers, and cherry-soaking vats, and juice from peeled tomatoes, cut corn kernels, and pears and other fruits drop to the floor from tables and machines; waste, skins, and other refuse also drop on the floors if the methods of disposing of it in pails or on conveyors are inadequate, as is often the case. Wet floors are found in the great majority of canneries in spite of improvements in recent years in floor construction and drainage, though by proper construction and drainage excellent conditions are maintained in some of the larger, up-to-date factories, even where tomatoes are canned. In many tomato canneries, however, conditions in this respect are no

better than they were 15 or 20 years ago. It is not unusual to find several inches of water standing in the uneven places of the old wooden floors and in cracks of the concrete floors, and under the peeling tables and filling machines. In canneries packing corn, peas, beans, and fruit the floors are generally wet in places, especially near filling and blanching machines.[15]

Steam from the scalders, blanching and filling machines, and the cooking processes, rising through cracks in loosely constructed floors and up stairway openings and collecting under low roofs, often completely envelope can boys and girls, particularly those on elevated platforms and in lofts, for the ventilating system in many canneries is inadequate to take care of this condition. Tomato peelers, corn huskers, and bean snippers in the "open air" canneries are often more fortunate in respect to light and air than cannery workers in some of the more substantial plants, as their workrooms are usually mere sheds open on two or three sides.

Stairways in canneries, in constant use by can boys working in cannery lofts and second floors, are often a source of danger. Some canneries have no stairs, only upright ladders; others have steep stairs without rails, poor lighting adding to the chance of accident.

A great many children in canneries stand throughout a working day of 10, 12, or more hours, in some cases because they can work faster standing, but usually because seats are not provided. Many girls under 16 in canneries in Michigan, Indiana, and New York stood at their work, although practically all the canneries in these States furnished seats for at least some of the women workers. More than two-thirds of the Delaware canneries and about three-fourths of the Maryland canneries provided no seats for any of their women workers, not even boxes, crates, or overturned pails,[16] and the great majority of the girls stood. The construction and height of conveyor work tables in canneries puts certain difficulties in the way of seating the workers. The Industrial Welfare Commission of California published in 1919 a bulletin on the seating of women in canneries with recommendations concerning the height, construction, and adjustment of work tables to seats, and the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin has issued general recommendations for adjustable seats in factories.[17] That seating workers at conveyor tables is practicable was demonstrated in the Wisconsin pea canneries visited in the survey, in which almost all the girls who "picked peas" were seated, although their seats were not necessarily adjusted properly to the height of the table at which they were working.

Legislation in a few States prohibits girls under certain ages, varying from 16 to 21, to engage in occupations that require constant standing.[18] In addition to such provisions the labor laws of all the States included in the survey, except Maryland outside of Baltimore

---

[15] For a description of floors in fruit and tomato canneries see Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington, p. 96, and Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries of Delaware, p. 26, United States Women's Bureau Publication No. 62 (Washington, 1927). See also Report of the Industrial Board of the State of Indiana for the year ending September 30, 1922, p. 49.

[16] For a description of seats used in fruit and vegetable canneries of the State of Washington see Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington, p. 97.

[17] Seating of Women and Minors in the Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry of California, California Industrial Welfare Commission, Bulletin 2a (Sacramento,1919). Factory Equipment, Housekeeping, and Supervision, p. 22, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin (September, 1920). A similar description is given in Report of the Industrial Board of the State of Indiana for the year ending September 30, 1922, p. 58.

[18] See **Ind.,** Acts of 1921, ch. 132, sec. 24; **Iowa,** Code 1924, sec. 1536; **Mich.,** Acts of 1909, No. 285, sec. 24; **Minn.,** Gen. Stat. 1923, sec. 4186; **Ohio,** Gen. Code 1910, sec. 13005, as amended by Acts of 1913, p. 864; **Wis.,** Stat. 1925, sec. 103.16.

City, provide that seats be furnished female workers in manufacturing establishments, not excepting canneries. However, these laws requiring seats do not prohibit constant standing and generally contain a clause that women and girls shall occupy the seats "when the nature of the work permits" or "when not necessarily engaged" in their work.[19]

Most of the States in which the fruit and vegetable canning industry is of importance have some sort of legal provisions regulating sanitary conditions in cannery workrooms. Laws and regulations of this kind applying specifically to canning and food-packing establishments, or sufficiently general to cover such establishments, are administered by State agencies, either departments of labor, of health, of food and drugs, or of agriculture.[20] Recommendations of a general nature bearing on sanitation in canneries have been adopted also by the National Canners Association.[21] Although these recommendations are not binding even on members of the association, they are no doubt influential in raising the standards of the individual canner.

THE CANNERIES AND CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

PROVISIONS OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

Legal regulation of cannery labor has lagged behind legal regulation of other factory work. When hours of labor for manufacturing industries as a whole have been regulated canneries have frequently

[19] For laws pertaining to seating of women in manufacturing establishments, see: **Ark.,** Digest of 1921, sec. 7100; **Calif.,** Industrial Welfare Commission, Order No. 4, dated Jan. 7, 1919; **Del.,** Acts of 1917, ch. 231, sec. 2; **Ill.,** Rev. Stat. 1917, ch. 48, sec. 97; **Ind.,** Acts of 1921, ch. 132, sec. 23; **Iowa,** Code 1924, sec. 1485; **Md.** Laws of 1882, ch. 35, as reenacted by Laws of 1898, ch. 123, sec. 505, and Laws of 1900, ch. 589; **Mich.,** Acts of 1909, No. 285, sec. 24; **Minn.,** Acts of 1919, ch. 491, sec. 16; **N. Y.,** Labor Law, art. 4, sec. 150 (see also Rules Applying to Canneries, Rule 1, Employment of Women in Canneries, Industrial Code, 1920, p. 187); **Mo.,** Rev. Stat. 1919, sec. 6797; **N. J.,** Comp. Stat. 1910, p. 3026, sec. 73; **Ohio,** Code 1910, sec. 1008; **Oreg.,** Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 22, July 3, 1916; **Pa.,** Stat. 1920, sec. 13547; **Va.,** Code 1919, sec. 1807 as amended by Acts of 1922, ch. 373; **Wis.,** Stat. 1925, sec. 103.16; **Wash.,** Acts of 1911, ch. 37, sec. 2.

[20] Following are references to such regulations, which cover ventilation, floor construction, dry standing room, handrails for stairways, toilets and washing facilities, as well as general sanitary regulations applying specifically to canneries, found in the 20 States for which in 1925 the United States Census of Manufactures reported either an average number of wage earners of more than 1,000 or 50 or more establishments engaged in fruit and vegetable canning. (Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin). (Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, Table 11, p. 84.) **Ark.,** Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Health of Arkansas, November, 1928, No. 288 (requiring only lavatories in connection with toilets). **Calif.,** Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 4, Jan. 7, 1919; Food Sanitation Act: Laws of 1909, p. 151 (Gen. Health Laws, 1927, issued by department of public health, p. 106). **Del.,** Laws of 1917, ch. 231, as amended by Laws of 1921, ch. 187; Laws of 1915, ch. 228 (declared unconstitutional by State attorney general in 1925). **Ill.,** Laws of 1911, p. 528 (Rev. Stat. 1917, ch. 56 b, secs. 40–53); Sanitary Food Law, published by department of agriculture, division of foods and dairies; Laws of 1915, p. 418, secs. 11–13, 16, 20, 21, 29 (Rev. Stat. 1917, ch. 48, secs. 99–101, 104, 108, 109, 117. **Ind.,** Laws of 1909, ch. 163 (Sanitary Food Laws); Burns' Ann. Stat. 1914, secs. 8026, 8030, 8035. **Iowa,** Code 1924, secs. 2809–2815, 2821–2824, 2854 (Law Relating to Sanitation in Food Producing Establishments). **Md.,** Laws of 1914, ch. 678 (Ann. Code 1924, art. 43, secs. 201–207). **Mich.,** Laws of 1909, No. 285, sec. 14, as amended by Laws of 1913, No. 160; sec. 17, as amended by Laws of 1915, No. 3; Laws of 1919, No. 411. **Minn.,** Gen. Stat. 1923, secs. 4146–4147 (Laws of 1913, ch. 316, secs. 6–7); 4171–4190 (Laws of 1919, ch. 491). **Mo.,** Manual of Food and Drug Department, containing Rules and Regulations for Canneries, pp. 116–118 (January, 1928); Rev. Stat. 1919, secs. 5685, 5687–5689, 6794, 6796, 6839. **N. J.,** Board of Health of the State of New Jersey, Rules Governing the Operation of Canning Factories, Circular 130, May, 1912; Laws of 1909, ch. 231 (Department of Health of the State of New Jersey, Public Health Laws, Circular 151, p. 287, July, 1928); Comp. Stat. 1910, p. 3026, sec. 35, as amended by Laws of 1912, sec. 5. **N. Y.,** Labor Law, secs. 2, 272, 293–295, 299–300; Industrial Code, Rules 100–104, 148–151, 158–161, 172, 173, 198 (see also Industrial Code p. 187, Employment of Women in Canneries). **Ohio,** Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1006, 1009–1011, to 1090–1121; Regulations of the Department of Agriculture, Nos. 54–58, 132–150 (Ohio Public Health Manual, pp. 667–670, 705–707). **Oreg.,** Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 22, effective Sept. 1, 1916; Order No. 49, effective July 25, 1922. **Pa.,** Department of Labor and Industry, Regulations [of the Industrial Board] for Canneries, effective May 15, 1926 (1927 edition); Stat. 1920, secs. 13540, 13548. **Utah,** Rulings of the Industrial Commission Relating to Canning and Other Factories; Laws of 1923, ch. 79. **Va.,** Code 1919, secs. 1822, 1828, 1829 (relating only to toilets and to handrails on stairways). **Wash.,** Industrial Welfare Commission Order No. 30, dated Jan. 19, 1922; Order No. 31, dated Aug. 28, 1922, subdiv. 9. **Wis.,** Industrial Commission, General Orders on Sanitation, Reprinted September, 1927, Orders 2000, 2010–2012, 2020–2025 (pp. 8–10) 2200–2213 (pp. 25–28); 2214–2219, 2223 (pp. 38–40); Industrial Commission, General Orders on Safety, Order 20; Industrial Commission, Building Code, 1925 Reprint, Order 5118 (p. 25), 5250–5256.

[21] Sanitary Code of the National Canners Association. Bulletin No. 93A. National Canners Association. Washington, 1923.

been exempted on the pleas of the perishable nature of their material, the shortness and variability of their season, and the alleged healthfulness of the surroundings of the workers. Efforts to place a minimum age upon the employment of children have been resisted not merely because of the ease with which young workers may be used in canning processes but also on the ground that canneries would be unable to get adult laborers if children were excluded from the industry.[22] Gradually, however, legal restrictions, both as to hours of labor of women and as to the employment of children, have been extended to canneries. The industry is still exempted in a considerable number of the State laws regulating the hours of women workers; and, although in general children under 16 at work in canneries are subject at least nominally to the same restrictions as child workers in other factories, some of the canning States have fixed low child-labor standards for all industrial occupations, including canneries, and a few, including some of the most important canning areas, still exempt canneries from one or more of the standards of their child labor laws. (For provisions of the child labor laws pertaining to canneries see Appendix II, p. 210.) One of the States included in the Children's Bureau survey, Delaware, specifically exempts fruit and vegetable canneries from the minimum age of 14 for other regulated employment, fixing a minimum of only 12 years. Mississippi is the only other State that makes a similar exemption, imposing no age limit on the work of children in fruit and vegetable canneries, though Virginia permits the same exemption for children of 12 or over when school is not in session and Vermont permits the suspension of the minimum age of 14 for a 2-month period in establishments handling perishable products.[23] In Washington, at the time of the study made in that State, no minimum-age provision was in effect for work in canneries. (See p. 180 and footnote 11, p. 180.) In three of the States in the survey (Delaware, Maryland, and Michigan) and in two others (Maine and Mississippi) children working in fruit and vegetable canneries are exempted from the maximum-hour and night-work regulations applicable to other industries; Utah exempts these children from the maximum-hour provision of its child labor law, and Vermont permits the same suspension of the maximum-hour and night-work provisions noted as applying to the minimum age.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

The enforcement of labor laws in canneries presents many difficulties. Many canneries are in small communities, often in isolated localities. Access to some of them, for factory inspectors at least, is far from easy. Especially is this true in States on the Atlantic coast, such as Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, where many canneries are located on necks of land or islands. Although they may have excellent shipping facilities from their docks on the rivers or bays, they are almost inaccessible from inland points. Moreover, in small communities where strangers are rarely seen, inspectors are often recognized before they reach a cannery, so that children employed in violation of the law can be hurried out before they

[22] See Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission (New York), p. 126, and Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1915, p. 210.

[23] According to information from the Vermont Commissioner of Industries, three or four such suspensions are usually granted per year.

are observed at work, and complete inspections are impossible. With most canneries operating only a few months in the year and practically all at the same season, the task of covering all the canneries of a State even once a season makes a heavy drain upon the inspection staff, which in many States is too small to cover even the all-year industries. Besides these drawbacks to thorough inspection, cannery inspections in themselves involve more difficulties than inspections in other industries. Many canneries do not keep time records and others only very incomplete ones, so that it is exceedingly hard to check up on violations of the laws relating to hours of employment. Ascertaining the correct ages of children found employed, which is essential to thorough inspection, is more difficult, also, in canneries than in other industries. Many children obtain work in canneries without employment certificates (see pp. 19–21) even in States in which certificates are required by law, and the inspector must search in the original documents for proof of their ages. The certificates on file in some States have often been issued in small communities by officials whose work is in greater need of checking up by inspectors than that of well-organized employment certificate issuing agencies in large cities. Inspection staffs are usually too small to insure such a verification of ages and checking up on the work of local issuing officers.

The isolation of the typical cannery means also that the general public knows little about the cannery employees and the conditions under which they work. Violations of the law, however general, are not so likely to be observed and reported to the enforcing authorities as violations in urban industries. Moreover, residents of the small farming communities in which many canneries are located are not usually familiar with the restrictions of labor laws, as the only kind of employment with which they are familiar, farm work, is almost everywhere unregulated. In addition, the interests of many of them—farmers who supply the canners with their produce and relatives and friends of the cannery owners and employees—are too closely connected with those of the cannery to enable them to take an entirely unbiased view of the necessity of strict law enforcement. Unfortunately this lack of understanding of the necessity of regulating the work of children in canneries is sometimes shared by local officials, such as magistrates and school officials, in rural districts.

Minimum age.

One of the abuses most commonly reported in surveys of labor conditions in canneries has been the extensive employment of young children. The exemption of canneries from the operation of the child-labor laws has been in part responsible, especially in earlier years, for the large number of children employed. In States where these exemptions have been removed the fact that, traditionally, children of any age could work in canneries, and that the news of changes in law penetrates slowly to small and isolated communities (where factory inspections are few and far between) has meant that frequently little care has been taken to exclude children under legal working age. Although investigations made in certain States before the enactment of child labor laws effectively regulating cannery work, such as those in Maryland in 1911 (see p. 85) and in New York in 1912 (see pp. 154–155) found more very young children than were found in the same States in the present Children's Bureau survey, young

children are still extensively employed even in States where the child labor law prohibits their employment. One-third (1,127) of the 3,403 under 16 at work in the canneries included in the Children's Bureau survey were under 14 years of age. Of these 882 were under legal working age according to the laws of the States in which they were at work. Although all the States in the survey had some canneries employing children under 14 years of age, the extent to which children under legal working age were found varied considerably, the proportions ranging from 2 per cent in two establishments in one State to 43 per cent in four-fifths of the establishments in another. Some very young children were found at work—303 who were under 12, 57 under 10, and 9 under 8 years of age—practically all in two States. (Table 3.)

TABLE 3.—*Number of children of specified ages employed in canneries visited in specified States*

State	Children under 16 years employed											
	Total	14 years, under 16		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years		Under 8 years		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total	3,403	2,276	66.9	1,127	33.1	303	8.9	57	1.7	9	0.3	
Delaware	662	303	45.8	359	54.2	114	17.2	28	4.2	6	.9	
Indiana	493	455	92.3	38	7.7	4	.8	1	.2	-------	-------	
Maryland	1,564	894	57.2	670	42.8	181	11.6	28	1.8	3	.2	
Michigan	229	203	88.6	26	11.4	2	.9	-------	-------	-------	-------	
New York	121	107	88.4	14	11.6	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	
Washington	133	117	88.0	16	12.0	2	1.5	-------	-------	-------	-------	
Wisconsin	201	197	98.0	4	2.0	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	

The employment of children under legal working age is more usual where the practice of importing migratory family labor is common. Not only is the tendency for the whole family to work—including the young children—greater among migratory than among resident cannery workers, but less care appears to be taken to see that children are not employed in violation of the law.

The violation of the age standard of the child-labor laws appears to be chiefly the result of carelessness in ascertaining the correct ages of the children on the part of those hiring them, although a certain amount of deliberate or at least conscious violation of the law exists. The isolation of many canneries and the rare visits of factory inspectors make it easy to violate the law with little risk of discovery and prosecution, and some canners admit that in the rush of the short season the temptation to employ whatever labor is available is too great to resist. To a considerable extent, however, violations can be attributed to inadequate or illegal certification of cannery children (see p. 19).

Hours of work.

Children work exceedingly long hours in canneries. Hours in plants packing perishable fruits and vegetables are in general very irregular, depending on the time of day delivery of produce is made and the quantity on hand to be packed, the quantity in turn depending on various other factors, such as the ripening of the crop and

the weather. Such circumstances as breakdowns in machinery or delay in delivery of cans also often result in a complete shutdown of a plant followed by increased speeding up and longer hours. A plant in operation day and night on some days in the week may operate short days of several hours or may close down entirely other days in the same week. The day's run in almost all the canneries visited in this survey, when they were in full-time operation, according to the statements of managers, was at least 10 hours, and in many it was 12 or more. Except in Wisconsin and some New York canneries, children usually worked as long hours as adults. More than two-thirds (69 per cent) of the 3,156 in the six States in the survey in which comparable information on hours was obtained, had worked 10 hours or more, and more than one-fifth (22 per cent) 12 hours or more. (Table 4.) Nearly two-fifths (37 per cent) had worked at night (that is, between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.).

TABLE 4.—*Maximum daily hours*[1] *of work of children under 16 years of age employed in canneries visited in specified States*

State	Children under 16 years employed															
		Reporting specified daily hours													Irregular daily hours	Daily hours not reported
	Total	Total	8 hours and under		Over 8 hours		10 hours and over		12 hours and over		14 hours and over		16 hours and over			
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
Total	[2]3,270	3,156	399	12.6	2,757	87.4	2,165	68.6	682	21.6	245	7.8	62	2.0	73	41
Delaware	662	628	28	4.5	600	95.5	562	89.5	256	40.8	84	13.4	18	2.9	31	3
Indiana	493	473	119	25.2	354	74.8	219	46.3	61	12.9	19	4.0	2	.4	3	17
Maryland	1,564	1,523	51	3.3	1,472	96.7	1,155	75.8	281	18.5	111	7.3	37	2.4	32	9
Michigan	229	221	16	7.2	205	92.8	144	65.2	52	23.5	16	7.2	2	.9	6	2
New York	121	120	16	13.3	104	86.7	83	69.2	31	25.8	14	11.7	2	1.7	1	
Wisconsin	201	191	169	88.5	22	11.5	2	1.0	1	.5	1	.5	1	.5		10

[1] Where used in this and similar tables the term "maximum daily hours" means the maximum during the period for which information as to hours was obtained. Where time records were available this was usually only one week (see p. 4). Where, however, the information was not obtained from records, the length of the period covered varied, being in some cases more than a week, and can not therefore be definitely stated.

[2] Comparable information was not obtained for State of Washington.

The enforcement of laws regulating the hours of labor in establishments operating with the irregularity of canneries presents almost insuperable difficulties unless each plant is required to keep accurate time records of the exact hours worked by each minor every day. Wisconsin has recognized this fact, and in its rulings relative to the hours and wages of women and minors in canneries the industrial commission has required that individual daily records be kept for boys under 17 and for all girls and women, showing the hours of beginning and ending morning, afternoon, and evening work each day, and the length of the midnight lunch period if the work is at night. A complete report based on these records must be sent not later than December 1 of each year to the commission. None of the other States included in the Children's Bureau survey had laws or rulings specifi-

cally requiring such records to be kept for cannery workers.[24] The Federal Government under the first and second Federal child labor laws required that such a daily record of hours actually worked be kept for all boys and girls under 16.[25]

Records showing the hours of beginning and ending work and the time off for lunch were kept in only 43 per cent of the canneries visited in the survey. Employment of children in canneries for longer hours than the law permits is the most common form of violation of the child labor laws. Violations of the law relating to daily hours of labor were reported for two-thirds of the minors under 16 in the four States in the survey in which regulations were in effect, and for more than half the girls of 16 or over for whom information was obtained whose hours were also regulated by law. Many children under 16, moreover, worked considerably longer hours than the legal maximum; two-fifths of those in the four States with an 8-hour day for children under 16 had worked at least 10 hours, one-seventh at least 12 hours, and a number 14 or 16 or even longer hours.

States differ in this respect chiefly according to the efficiency of the administration of the law, but the restrictive influence of laws regulating the hours of labor, however inadequately enforced, is evident. In the three States in which children in canneries were exempted from the provisions of the child-labor laws regulating hours 96 per cent of the children under 16 (including more than 90 per cent in each State) worked more than 8 hours a day, as compared with 66 per cent in the States having regulations, and 78 per cent, as compared with 40 per cent, worked 10 hours or more. The States not restricting the hours of minors in canneries and employing the largest proportion of minors for long hours are also the States employing the largest number of young children, and many of the children in these States who work long hours are only 12, 11, or even 10 years of age. Excessively long daily hours for workers do not occur only on isolated occasions; excessively long weekly hours are also recorded for many whose time records are available.

Because of the perishable nature of the product night work has always been common in fruit and vegetable canneries at the peak of the season, and the Children's Bureau survey found that in all the States except Wisconsin from one-third to two-thirds of the canneries, according to the State, had employed children at night at some time during the canning season. Two-fifths of the children under 16 in the survey had worked at night. In four of the States (Maryland, New York, Washington, and Wisconsin) they did so in violation of the night work law. The percentage of children illegally employed at night ranged from 7 in Wisconsin to 92 in New York.

That some regulation of the hours of labor of minors over 16 years of age is necessary has been recognized in the legislation of a number of States, especially for girls. The information obtained in two States

[24] The New York law regulating hours of labor of minors in factories (including canneries) specifies that in establishments where it is practically impossible to adhere to the posted schedule of hours required, a special permit must be obtained from the industrial commission, and a time book, in a form approved by the commission, must be kept showing the names of the employed subject to the hour regulations and the hours worked by each of them in each day. (N. Y., Labor Law, art. 5, sec. 174.)

[25] According to regulation 8 of the rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of the Federal child labor law of 1916: "SEC. 1. A time record shall be kept daily by producers or manufacturers showing the hours of employment in accordance with regulation 6, for each and every child between 14 and 16 years of age, whether employed on a time or a piece-rate basis. Sec. 2. Certificates of age for children employed in any mine or quarry or in any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment may be suspended or revoked for failure on the part of a manufacturer or producer to keep time records as required by this regulation, or for false or fraudulent entries made therein."

in this survey showed very long hours of work for boys of 16 and 17, whose hours are in most States unregulated. For a third of the boys of 16 and 17 years of age in Indiana working days of 12 hours or more were reported. Some of these boys worked 14, 15, and 16 hours and a few up to 19 and 21 hours; weekly hours of 60, 70, or 80 were reported for two-fifths of the cannery boys of these ages for whom such information was available, and night work also was common. In Wisconsin, where compliance with the laws regulating the hours of boys and girls under 16 and of girls of 16 and over was unusually good, the older boys, whose hours were unregulated by law, worked exceptionally long hours, time records showing that approximately half the boys of 16 and 17 in the Wisconsin canneries for whom information was obtained had working days of 14 hours or more, including 10 who had worked 20 hours or more at a stretch. Half the boys of these ages in Wisconsin canneries for whom information as to the hours worked during a full week was obtained had been employed 70 hours or more, and a number had worked 80 or 90 hours. Night work was reported for 70 per cent of these boys and for 28 per cent of the girls, the majority of the boys having worked more than 6 hours on one or more nights of the week for which time records were obtained. Night work in canneries is not forbidden in Wisconsin for girls of 16 and over, but the fact that their hours of labor are restricted to 9 a day and 54 a week and that they are required to take a period of rest of at least 9 consecutive hours between the end of work on one day and the beginning of work on the next serves indirectly to prevent excessive night work among them. (See footnote 23, p. 196.)

Employment-certificate issuance.

Experience has shown that where the system of employment-certificate issuance is defective the standards of the child labor laws are generally disregarded. If children are employed without certificates the employer has no reliable assurance that the children in his employ are of legal working age. If certificates are issued on inadequate evidence of age, official approval of the employment of children below the legal working age is likely to be given by the issuing officer. The special provisions regulating the hours of employment and prohibiting night work, applying as they do to specific age groups, are also dependent upon the certificate system for their proper enforcement, for if the correct ages of employed children are unknown to the employer, avoidance of violations of the hour regulations of the law is often impossible. Moreover, if the machinery of certificate issuance is recognizedly defective employers naturally tend to greater carelessness in complying with all the provisions of the child labor law.

Most child labor laws provide that no child shall be employed without an employment certificate for at least the first two years after he is legally eligible for employment. Except in the State of Delaware, where cannery employment is exempted from this provision, all the States having a certificate law require children employed in canneries to obtain certificates just as do children in other occupations.

In spite of the clear intention of the laws, many children in canneries receive little of the protection that a well-enforced employment certificate law provides. In the six States included in the Children's Bureau survey in which employment certificates were required for all

children of specified ages employed in canneries, no certificates were on file for half the minors of certificate age found at work, including those of 16 and 17 years of age as well as those under 16. (Table 5.) Moreover, in a large proportion of the certificates that were on file, one or more errors or defects in issuing were found. Many of these defects were serious. For example, the birth date on a number of certificates was wrongly stated, in most cases the child being younger than the age given on the certificates, in many instances under legal working age. On a number of certificates in one State the evidence reported as having been accepted by the issuing officer was found to be nonexistent.

TABLE 5.—*Number of children of specified ages employed with certificates in specified States*

State	Children under 16 years employed								
	Under 16 years			14 years, under 16			Under 14 years		
	Total	With certificates		Total	With certificates		Total	With certificates	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Total	[1] 2,741	1,203	43.9	1,973	935	47.4	768	268	34.9
Indiana	493	221	44.8	455	216	47.5	38	5	----
Maryland	1,564	639	40.9	894	383	42.8	670	256	38.2
Michigan	229	105	45.9	203	105	51.7	26	----	----
New York	121	24	19.8	107	24	22.4	14	----	----
Washington	133	19	14.3	117	15	12.8	16	4	----
Wisconsin	201	195	97.0	197	192	97.5	4	3	----

[1] Delaware has no certificating law.

There are various explanations why issuance should not be so satisfactory for work in canneries as in other industries. The cannery in many places is the only industry of the town, and employment certificates are needed only for the children who work in the cannery during a brief period of the year. In such communities the system of certificate issuance is not so well organized as in cities and large towns. Where, as in many States, the law prescribes that certificates be issued by school officials, they may be out of town during the school vacation when cannery work for most children begins. Some of the smaller communities have to depend upon a county or district superintendent of schools or some other official whose office may be in another town and so far away from the cannery as to be almost inaccessible to the children seeking employment there. In small communities the children and their parents are often so well known to the employer that he attaches no importance to obtaining legal proof of the children's ages and permission for their employment. Most fruits and vegetables are highly perishable, and it is the canner's chief concern to get the produce canned in the shortest possible time after it is ripe and delivered at the cannery. He needs all the labor available and at the shortest notice; he feels that he can not wait for children until they have obtained certificates even if they can do so without much delay, and so he accepts them without certificates.

The chances of a cannery's being caught in a violation of the certificate law are slight compared with other industries. As has been

stated, canneries are so scattered that inspections of them can not be frequent, and in some States the practice of watching for the inspector's visits and sending employed children out of the cannery on his approach still seems to be regarded by some canners as a means of escaping the penalties of the law. Another reason why less attention is paid to employment-certificate issuance in the case of children going to work in canneries than in the case of children engaging in other factory work is that whereas in other industries absence from school may be used to check up on their employment, in the canning industry the work usually begins, at least, during school vacation. Even when school opens in the fall no check-up on working children is made in many canning communities. Moreover, public opinion in the small community often condones absences for cannery work, just as an agricultural district may condone absences from school for farm work.

States differ greatly in respect to the employment of children in canneries without certificates. Thus, in one State in the survey (Wisconsin) only 5 per cent, but in another (New York) 78 per cent, of the children at work were employed in violation of the certificate law. The relationship between an adequate certificate system and the enforcement of other provisions of the State child labor law is indicated by the fact that Wisconsin, the State having the largest proportion of children with certificates, had the smallest proportion of children employed in violation of the age and hour standards of the child labor law. On the other hand, New York, the State having the smallest proportion of children on certificate, had the largest proportion employed in violation of its hour regulations (see Table 4); and Maryland, the State having the largest proportion of defective certificates, had the largest proportion of children employed in violation of the legal standard as to age. The excellent record of some States shows that the enforcement of the certificate law in canneries, though presenting unusual difficulties of administration, is not impossible.

Differences among the States in complying with the certificate law are not due to differences in the seasonal character of the industry, the size of the communities in which the canneries are located, or the laws primarily. No crop is more highly seasonal or requires more haste in canning than peas; yet the State in which the Children's Bureau found the fewest violations of the certificate laws was Wisconsin, where almost all the canneries when visited were canning peas and running day and night. Moreover, in each of the States included in the Children's Bureau survey a considerable proportion of the canneries were in small towns. Only to a limited extent do differences in the observance of certificate laws appear to arise from differences in these laws. It may be that the large proportion of children working in the canneries of New York State without certificates is due in part to the fact that New York is the one State among those included in the survey, and in fact almost the only important canning State in the country, requiring children to obtain regular employment certificates for summer employment in canneries, involving the necessity of completing a specified grade in school and obtaining a certificate of educational attainment. In general, however, the employment certificate laws, at least in the States in which the survey was made, contain about the same basic provisions, and the provisions relative to

the kind of evidence of age acceptable under the law are much the same, so that differences in laws can not be regarded as the principal cause of the variations from State to State in the thoroughness with which the certification is enforced.

Such variations seem to depend chiefly upon variations in the administration of the laws, particularly upon the type of issuing officer and the degree of State supervision exercised over the issuing. Properly qualified and conscientious issuing officers who are easily accessible to applicants for certificates are fundamental to satisfactory issuance. The designation by law of certain public officials as issuing officers—for example, school superintendents, as in four of the States in the survey, Indiana, Michigan, New York, and Washington—has done a great deal to develop a satisfactory system of certificate issuance in good-sized communities having a sufficient number of children seeking permits throughout the year to warrant delegating the work to one or more persons who keep regular office hours at all seasons of the year. In small communities there appears to be some advantage in having issuing officers especially appointed by and responsible to a strong State supervisory agency, as is shown by the success Wisconsin has had with this method, if care is taken by the State agency to select suitable persons, to supervise their work, and to revoke their appointments if they are unsatisfactory. In States where the issuing officers are designated by law and provision is also made for State supervision of issuance, the advantages of both systems may be combined, although the inability of the State enforcing agency in such a case to revoke the appointment of an unsatisfactory issuing officer might prove to be a disadvantage at times. The experience of Indiana indicates that under a system of this sort a satisfactory system of issuance can be worked out. Where the local issuing officers are responsible to a State enforcing agency, they are usually familiar with the provisions of the law and with the correct method to follow in its enforcement provided the State authority makes full use of its supervisory powers. For example, in Indiana, where all certificates issued are reviewed by the State industrial board, school officials and their deputies were usually found to be better informed as to the provisions of the certificate law than in States where this was not done; and in Wisconsin, where State supervision has been more fully developed than in any of the other States included in the survey, issuing officers were thoroughly conversant with the provisions of the law and were accurate in carrying them out.

A most serious handicap in administering the law in canning communities is the absence or inaccessibility of issuing officers. When the officers are school officials (who in many ways seem specially well qualified for the work) they often take vacations or attend summer school at the very time the canneries are in operation; and although the law of most States permits issuing officers to delegate their authority to others, absentees do not always appoint deputies, with the result that the children going to work in the canneries go without certificates. Even when they are in town many officers do not keep regular office hours, at least during the summer months, and applicants for certificates have to make repeated visits to their homes. Many small communities have no resident issuing officer, and in some places applicants have to go to a neighboring town or to the county seat. In some places they actually travel long distances to get certificates,

but in general the absence of a near-by issuing officer means that children go to work in the canneries without them. Devices to provide adequate facilities for certificating in small communities were found in one or two States in the survey. In Wisconsin the State industrial commission, which is the State enforcing agency, makes every effort to see that a sufficient number of issuing officers are appointed to cover all the canning communities; but in emergencies, and in some cases where no local issuing officers have been appointed or during the absence of the issuing officers, applications are made by mail to the office of the industrial commission, which issues the certificates direct. In Maryland at the time of the survey issuing officers went from cannery to cannery issuing certificates. Although this method probably results in the certification of a larger number of children than would be the case if they all were obliged to go to the offices of the issuing officials, it has a number of disadvantages, as the issuing officers' districts may be very large, visits to individual canneries may be infrequent, and the issuing usually has to be done in the confusion of the cannery during working hours at the height of the season. (See pp. 121, 122, and footnote 63, p. 134.)

Not only must issuing officers be familiar with the law and be accessible to applicants, they must also appreciate the importance and value of careful issuance. Their most important responsibility is the determination of the applicant's correct age. The laws of all the more important canning States, with the exception of Washington, specify clearly the kind of proof of age that may be legally accepted by the issuing officer, in most of these States giving precedence to birth and baptismal certificates, but issuing officers vary in their observance of the requirements. Laxity in the observance of the legal requirements as to evidence of age was much more marked in some of the States in the survey than in others. In some States the issuing officers with only a few exceptions claimed to follow the provisions of the law to the letter. In others little uniformity appeared in the procedure followed by different issuing officers, according to their statements, except that in hardly any case did they claim that they followed exactly the procedure prescribed by law. Obtaining birth and baptismal certificates takes time and trouble and frequently involves delay, and many issuing officers made no attempt to do it. Others, though endeavoring to get birth certificates from the county health officer for children born in the county, made no effort to get them for children born elsewhere. Many, not obtaining birth certificates, do not attempt to get baptismal certificates or any other form of documentary evidence specified in the law, but issue a large proportion of their certificates on parents' affidavits with or without the corroborative evidence required under the law. In some States in the survey some of the issuing officers relied on the school census or on school records for proof of age, although such records are not legally acceptable evidence under the law. A considerable number in some States admitted that they merely accepted the child's or the parent's word as to the child's age, saying that they could determine a child's age by his appearance or that they always knew whether or not the parent was telling the truth or that as they knew everyone in town they did not need to obtain evidence of age. Almost one-fourth of the entire number of children with certificates found at work during the survey had had a

wrong birth date entered on their certificates. The great majority of these were found to be younger than the ages given on the certificates, many of them under legal working age.

Enough has been said to indicate the importance in the administration of the law of legal provision for State supervision of employment-certificate issuance. The requirement that a central State agency prepare and distribute forms for certificate issuance, found in the laws of all except two of the States included in this survey, was valuable in securing uniformity of issuance, particularly when these forms are supplemented by instructions for their use. Even more helpful appeared to be the provision that duplicates of the certificates and of the evidence of age upon which they are issued must be referred to the State agency for approval, and that the certificates can be revoked if illegally issued. Some provisions of this sort were contained in the child labor laws of three of the seven States surveyed, in two of which their value in reducing the extent of illegal or defective issuance was obvious. A further extension of the supervisory power of the State over local certificate issuance provided by a few laws is to give the State enforcing agency authority to appoint or approve the appointment of local certificate officers throughout the State. In two of the States in the survey, Maryland and Wisconsin, a central State agency (in these States the labor department) had this power. (See pp.125, 203.)

CONCLUSIONS

Children under 16 years of age are very generally employed in the canning industry. In some States many children are employed without adequate legal protection because of the exemption of canneries from the laws regulating the work of children in other manufacturing industries. Even in States that have laws for their protection a considerable number are employed in violation of these laws. The extent of such violation varies widely in the different States. For example, the proportion of those under 16 who were below the legal working age (about one-fourth of the total number included in the study) varied from 43 per cent in one State to 2 per cent in another, and the proportion of minors employed in violation of legal working hours varied from 12 per cent to 97 per cent. In spite of the greater difficulty of enforcing legal standards in the canning than in other manufacturing industries, this variation indicates that where a sincere and well-considered effort is made on the part of the State to see that the law is enforced it can be done. Although the employment of children in canneries is to some extent a question of the crop being canned and to some extent a question of the adequacy of the local labor supply, it is chiefly and primarily a matter of the law and its enforcement. Where the laws and the thoroughness with which they are enforced discourage the exploitation of children, canners can and do operate successfully without employing young children.

An adequate State child labor law that does not exempt canneries is fundamental in any successful program for the protection of children. Such a law should prohibit the employment in canneries of all children under 14, at least, as the majority do. The arguments for extending the minimum age from 14 to 16, generally admitted to be the years in need of special legislative safeguards, in some respects have particular force when applied to the canning industry.

The employment of children on machinery in canneries is sufficiently common to make it desirable that the law prohibit young workers from employment in connection with the more dangerous types of canning machinery.

It is not essential that children working only during school vacation should be obliged to fulfill an educational requirement for work in canneries, but in the omission of such a requirement unusual care must be taken that children who have not completed the grade requirement that makes them eligible for employment during school hours return to school at the beginning of the school term. Special arrangements should be made for the school attendance of children living temporarily in cannery camps.[26] The Ohio school attendance law is one of the few laws relating specifically both to children who migrate for work within the State and to those coming from outside. It provides that every child actually resident in the State shall be amenable to the laws relating to compulsory education and that he shall not be excused from the operation of the law on the ground that his residence is seasonal or that his parent is a resident of another State. In the absence of such provisions local school authorities are apt to take the position that temporary residents in the community are not entitled to share in school facilities.

Whatever the minimum-age and other requirements for entrance into the industry, it is essential that the hours of work of minors in canneries should be restricted. A maximum 8-hour day, with a prohibition of night work, is the prevailing standard for minors under 16 years of age in other industries. The extension of hour regulations to minors up to the age of 18 in canneries is desirable because of the unusually long hours prevailing in cannery employment. Although in States in which a similar standard has been applied to cannery work its enforcement has been found entirely practicable, provisions regulating hours are more difficult to enforce in canneries than any other legal regulations, so that it is essential not only that the hours be restricted but that special attention be given to the enforcement of provisions of the law relating to hours. Unusual success in obtaining compliance with the regulations relating to the hours of labor of women and children in canneries has been achieved by requiring the keeping of time records showing the exact hours worked by each employee each day, and such a provision should be included in the labor law.

Basic to the enforcement of the child labor law in canneries as in other industries is a well-administered employment-certificate system. Such a system should require that all minors up to 18 years of age have employment certificates before they can be employed, that only the most reliable proof of age—such as birth certificates, baptismal records, or other contemporaneous documentary evidence—be acceptable under the law, and that physical fitness proved through examination by a designated physician be a requisite for employment. Within these restrictions, however, it should be made as easy as possible for applicants to obtain certificates even in the smallest communities, so that canners can have no excuse for employing any child without a

[26] Attempts to solve this admittedly difficult problem have been made in a few States in the case of children migrating for agricultural work. For an account of these see Children in Agriculture, pp. 44–46. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 187, Washington, 1929.

certificate. Local issuing officers should be within convenient distance of applicants' homes; and where this can not be arranged, the State should make provision for the issuance of certificates by mail or by State representatives.

The results of this survey show that errors and laxity in certification, and in consequence violations of other standards of the child labor law in canneries, can be reduced by an intelligently and carefully administered system of State supervision of certificate issuance. To be effective such a system requires some legal basis; that is, the law should provide at least that the State enforcing agency have power to provide forms and instructions for issuance, to review certificates and evidence of age, and to revoke all that are illegally issued. Further power given the State agency to appoint and dismiss local issuing officers adds to the effectiveness with which the State agency can insure compliance with the law. In few States, however, has this power been granted to the State agency; and it seems unlikely that many of the larger industrial States will grant it, as in the larger cities of such States well-organized systems of certificate issuance already have been established by the local boards of education. But in the small communities of these States better issuance might be insured by giving the State enforcing agency some power of revoking the authority of issuing officers who are lax in fulfilling their duties and of appointing other persons to take their places or by granting the State agency power to issue certificates through its deputies. The success of State supervision of issuance, however, depends chiefly upon the intelligence and thoroughness with which the State department exercises its supervisory powers. Good supervision requires: (1) Careful planning of instructions for issuance; (2) frequent visits to issuing officers on the part of representatives of the State department to see that the instructions are carried out properly and to observe the methods followed in issuance; (3) careful checking of duplicates of certificates for possible errors or violations and speedy reporting of such errors to the issuing officer and the revocation of such certificates where necessary; (4) verification from time to time of the evidence of age accepted by issuing officers to determine whether or not better evidence is available; and (5) frequent inspection of the establishments in which children are employed, to check up on the extent to which children are working without certificates.

Working conditions in canneries would be improved if the more advanced legal standards regarding construction and sanitation now set up for manufacturing establishments were more generally in effect in food-packing establishments. Difficulties peculiar to the canning industry, particularly in regard to drainage and disposal of waste, make it desirable that special regulations to meet these conditions be formulated and enforced by a State agency. Success has been achieved both in States in which a State agency is given power to make and enforce detailed regulations for factories, inclusive of canneries, and in States in which a State agency is empowered to make and enforce regulations applying specifically to canneries. (See Appendix III, p. 223.)

The seating of girls and women at work in canneries should be given particular attention. Many young girls in canneries stand constantly at their work, although it has been shown that cannery equipment can be so adjusted as to insure the comfortable seating of women workers

in most of the occupations in which they are employed. The usual laws requiring seats for female employees do not cover the situation because they permit standing if the occupation requires it. Girls and women should be prohibited from working in occupations necessitating constant standing.

A State agency should be given authority to make and enforce regulations covering the construction of buildings in labor camps and the sanitation of buildings and grounds. Such regulations must be detailed and specific, for general provisions such as those requiring merely "ample ventilation" or "adequate drainage" are not effective in preventing overcrowding and insanitary conditions.

The care of children too young to work in cannery labor camps is a problem that has received little attention. Cannery labor camps seem less safe for unsupervised children than agricultural labor camps because the former are usually near railroad tracks and because children in the cannery camps are likely to get into the cannery workrooms where they are in danger from unguarded machinery. The Council of Women for Home Missions in cooperation with canners has conducted welfare centers in several places in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and on the Pacific coast. Another approach to the problem is indicated by the action of the division of housing and sanitation of the California Department of Industrial Relations in issuing to canners in 1927 recommendations for day nurseries and playgrounds, including rules as to equipment and personnel. These recommendations have been adopted by some California canners.

DELAWARE

INTRODUCTION

The canning of fruits and vegetables is the fourth industry in importance in Delaware according to the value of the product and the third according to the average number of wage earners employed during the year.[1] It is the most important child-employing industry in the State. Although the majority of children are employed in the canneries only during a part of the year, no other industry in the State affords employment in the course of the year to so many children.

In September, 1925, the Children's Bureau found 662 children under 16 at work in Delaware canneries, a much larger number than the total number of children under 16 (405) reported as gainfully occupied in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits at the last decennial census,[2] and more than the total number of children issued general employment certificates in Delaware throughout a 12-month period which included the canning season of 1925.[3]

Although the canning of fruits and vegetables may thus be regarded as its most important child-employing industry, Delaware is among the States having the lowest standards for the legal protection of child workers in canneries. (See p. 14.) The minimum age (12 years) at which children can go to work is two years younger than that for cannery workers in almost any other State, and it is also two years younger than the minimum age fixed by the Delaware child labor law for regular full-time employment in other occupations.[4] Moreover, children 12 years of age and over are permitted to work in Delaware canneries without being subject to any of the legal regulations that apply to children in other gainful occupations. Several other States[5] exempt children under 16 employed in canneries from the statutory hour and night-work regulations applicable to child workers in other occupations; but Delaware is the only State in which the law exempts them also from the employment-certificate provisions applicable to other industries, thereby weakening the enforcement of the only protective measure that it affords the cannery children, namely, the 12-year minimum age for employment.

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

The Canners' Directory for 1925 lists 85 fruit and vegetable canneries in Delaware.[6] Representatives of the Children's Bureau visited almost all of these in September, the peak month of the canning industry in Delaware, and found 71 in operation. Of the canneries

[1] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Statistics for Industries, States and Cities, pp. 33–34. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[2] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Children in Gainful Occupations, p. 115. Washington, 1924.

[3] Unpublished reports of the Wilmington Public Schools and the child-labor division of the Labor Commission of Delaware.

[4] Except work on farms and in domestic service in private homes, employments which, as in many other States, are outside the provisions of the child labor law.

[5] Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, and Utah.

[6] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 39–45. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C.

visited, 10 were in New Castle County, 27 in Kent, and 34 in Sussex. (Table 6.)

TABLE 6.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed in canneries in Delaware counties*

County	Canneries visited					Persons employed							
	Total	Employing children under 16 years			Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		
		Total	Under 14 years	Under 12 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years	
Total	71	69	61	39	2	7,427	662	8.9	359	54.2	114	17.2	
Kent	27	25	21	14	2	2,579	234	9.1	119	50.9	38	16.2	
New Castle	10	10	10	7	-------	866	118	13.6	81	68.6	26	22.0	
Sussex	34	34	30	18	-------	3,982	310	7.8	159	51.3	50	16.1	

The 71 canneries were reported as employing 7,427 workers at the time of the inquiry, or an average number of 105 persons per cannery.[7] The majority of the canneries employed fewer than 100 workers, 7 reported fewer than 50 at the height of the canning season, 7 reported 200 or more, including 1 with approximately 500 employees. The proportion of large canneries was greater than in the neighboring State of Maryland, where the average number of workers in the canneries visited was only 78.

Almost 95 per cent of all the workers in the canneries visited and also of the children under 16 found employed were engaged in work in connection with canning tomatoes. (Table 7.) Although many Delaware canneries put up peas, beans, corn, and other vegetables and fruits, tomatoes are the principal canning crop. Tomatoes and tomato pastes, purées, and sauces constituted approximately half the output of the State in canned goods in 1925.[8] All except two of the canneries visited by agents of the bureau, where lima beans or corn were being canned, were packing tomatoes at the time of the visits in September. Nine canneries were also manufacturing tomato pulp, catchup, or other tomato products, an undertaking that requires more elaborate machinery and therefore better-built factories than are needed for packing tomatoes. Half the canneries also packed other vegetables at other seasons—corn, string or lima beans, asparagus, or sweet potatoes. At the time of the bureau inquiry, however, only two establishments were canning a second crop in addition to tomatoes. This concentration of work on the tomato crop was in part due to the fact that the inquiry was made at the

[7] According to the Federal census of manufactures for 1925, the peak of the canning season in Delaware that year was in September, the number of wage earners reported for September 15 being 6,008, or an average number of 109 wage earners per establishment for the 55 fruit and vegetable canneries reported by the census for the State. The fact that a larger number of canneries was listed in the Canners' Directory than in the census for that year was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the Federal census statistics for 1925 were collected only from establishments reporting products of $5,000 or more. (Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 2, 8, and 22. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1927.)

[8] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 18, 19, and 22, computed from Tables 9 and 11.

height of the tomato-picking season, when the peas and most of the corn had been canned, and in part also to the fact that in 1925 in Delaware, as in other States, the tomato crop was especially large.[9]

TABLE 7.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Delaware canneries*

Product	Canneries visited					Persons employed						
	Total	Employing children under 16 years			Not employing children	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years		Under 12 years	
		Total	Under 14 years	Under 12 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years[1]	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years[1]
Total	71	69	61	39	2	7,427	662	8.9	359	54.2	114	17.2
Tomatoes and tomato products	67	65	57	36	2	6,954	618	8.9	337	54.5	108	17.5
Tomatoes only	54	53	47	31	1	4,456	497	11.2	268	53.9	80	16.1
Tomatoes, tomato pulp, and catchup	13	12	10	5	1	2,498	121	4.8	69	57.0	28	23.1
Corn	1	1	1	1	------	65	8	12.3	7	------	4	------
Lima beans	1	1	1	1	------	143	18	12.6	9	------	1	------
More than one product	2	2	2	1	------	265	18	6.8	6	------	1	------
Tomatoes, tomato pulp, and lima beans	1	1	1	1	------	135	10	7.4	5	------	1	------
Tomatoes and lima beans	1	1	1	------	------	130	8	6.2	1	------	------	------

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

The cannery buildings varied greatly in construction and equipment. Some canneries visited consisted of one crudely built shed of a single story, open at the sides, unpainted and weather beaten; others were composed of a group of two or three large one-and-a-half or two story buildings substantially built of wood, brick, or corrugated iron, freshly painted, and in good repair, and were fitted with windows with glass panes and with electric lights.

The grounds about many of the canneries were littered with refuse. In one cannery that put up both corn and tomatoes the corn husks were piled on the ground outside the husking shed, and the yard in front of the cannery was a morass of mud and muck. The condition of the ground about many of the canneries was partly due to the dripping of juice and water from the storage bins into which waste was dumped, to defective drains, and to the leakage of the carts that hauled away the skins. Clean and dry yards were found about some tomato canneries; one lima-bean cannery was unique in that it had a neatly trimmed lawn and flower beds about the office building.

In canneries having several buildings one was sometimes used for receiving and preparing the tomatoes or other vegetables, another, adjoining, for filling, packing, closing, processing, and other canning operations, and another, the warehouse, for storing cans to await ship-

[9] The production of canned tomatoes in Delaware in 1925 exceeded that for any other year since 1917. (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Yearbook of Agriculture, 1926, p. 954.)

ment. In many of the smaller canneries all the work was done in one building. As canneries are usually in operation only during the summer and autumn months and the machinery, at least in tomato canneries, is comparatively simple, buildings of light construction can be used. The main cannery building in the canneries visited was usually of frame, but a number were of corrugated iron and three were wholly or in part of brick. The warehouse in most canneries was constructed substantially, but the peeling room where many of the minors were working was in some canneries just a shed with open sides, or in a building the upper part of the side walls of which could be closed but were raised on hinges for ventilation. Some buildings had high ceilings and outlets for the heat and steam which rose from the machines and the cooking processes, but others had low ceilings and the top of the room was filled with steam.

One-story buildings were common, but 32 of the 69 in which minors were employed had a loft above the ground floor and 8 had two stories. The 2-story buildings all belonged to large canneries that put up both tomatoes and tomato products (purée, catchup, or chili sauce) and required space for additional machinery and processes. The lofts where the can boys and girls handled empty cans were frequently hot and stuffy. The loft was often located above the filling and closing machines and the exhaust, and the steam rose from the machines through the loosely constructed floors or up the stairway opening and made the air in the loft hot and stifling. Owing to the clouds of steam which filled the upper part of one cannery loft, the inspector could see only the legs of the can boys who were 2 or 3 feet away. The stairs to the loft in some instances were unrailed and inadequate; in four canneries ladders were fastened upright against the wall or propped at an incline, and in one place not even a ladder was provided, the can boys climbing up to the loft on a pile of empty wooden cases. Bad lighting added to the chances of possible misstep.

In some of the better-built canneries the workroom floors were so constructed that the tomato juice and waste could be disposed of without difficulty; but in others, although the floors were of concrete and sloped to central gutters, the drainage was insufficient to prevent water from accumulating on the floor. The workroom floor in the main cannery building was usually of concrete; but 17 of the 69 canneries visited had wooden floors, and 8 had no floor drainage except holes or cracks in the wooden boards through which water dripped to a gutter underneath or to a creek or a river over which the cannery projected.

Wet and sloppy floors were common. Inadequate floor drainage, the use of open wire-mesh pails for carrying tomatoes in canneries not having automatic conveyors, loose construction of work tables so that the juice and water dripped through the cracks or through the trough of the table to the floor, all contributed to the accumulation of water and waste. Floors were sloppy as well as wet in 26 canneries at the time of the visits, including several visited as early as 9 a. m.; where these floors were wood they were also slippery. In one cannery in which the floor was only slightly wet at 9 o'clock the operatives said that the slop was over their shoe tops by the closing hour. In spite of frequent floor flushing and an elaborate system of drains the floors of one establishment employing 500 people was not only wet but also cluttered with tomato skins and trimmings. The slop and

muck on the floor of one cannery was several inches thick; in another, where the concrete floor was old and broken, water settled in the holes and cracks; in another, the cement floor under the peeling table was not drained and near the peeling table was a hole 1 to 8 inches deep, filled with water and tomatoes, into which the workers might easily have stumbled. In contrast to canneries such as these the floors in 16 canneries, including 6 of those employing 150 or more persons, were dry at the time of the visits. Three or four canneries that had dry floors when visited between 8 and 9 a. m. might not have been in such good condition when the plant had been in operation longer, but a few canneries had such an efficient drainage and cleaning system that there was little likelihood of an accumulation of water and waste.

The equipment for conveying the product to and from the peeling and packing tables and to the other operations and the type of table furnished for the peelers varied with the cannery. Eighteen canneries used automatic conveyors throughout, so that the lifting and carrying of pails was largely eliminated. No machinery was used for any part of the carrying in 18 canneries; in 31 others part of the work was done by machinery and part by hand; and for 2 no report was obtained. In many of these canneries men or boys were employed to carry pails of tomatoes from the scalder to the peeling tables, from the peeling tables to the filling machine, and to carry out the waste. In canneries where automatic carrying was the rule the peelers worked at conveyor tables, usually the type known as the "merry-go-round," elliptical in shape, with stationary edges and a slowly moving conveyor in the center, which carried the pails of scalded and peeled tomatoes to and away from the peelers who stood on each side. In 25 canneries the peelers worked at stationary tables.[10]

To protect themselves from the wet and slop of the tables and floors some of the women and girls wore aprons—sometimes only burlap bags or newspapers tied about them—and some wore rubbers. Some of the boys and other employees whose job was to carry buckets and push skins down the drains wore rubber boots. Boards and platforms which the management furnished to keep the employees off the wet floors or the boxes which the workers sometimes procured to stand on were often insufficient to prevent wet feet. No platforms or stands of any kind were found in five canneries with wet floors, including two of the largest canneries visited.

No seats were provided in 45 of the 67 canneries from which the information was obtained, and all the workers stood; in 22 canneries the employer either had furnished stools or chairs for at least some of the workers or had allowed them to use packing boxes for seats.[11] The peeling tables varied in height, but many were too high to allow the peelers to sit at their work.

Toilet facilities for employees were usually inadequate but were provided in all but 1 cannery. Eight of the 69 canneries visited had flush toilets; the remainder with toilet facilities had outside privies. Although some of the toilets were kept in as clean and sanitary condition as the construction would permit others were in very poor

[10] For further description of work tables in Delaware canneries see Women's Employment in Vegetable Canneries in Delaware, pp. 22–24 (U. S. Women's Bureau Publication No. 62, Washington, 1927).

[11] A State law (Del., Laws of 1917, ch. 231, as amended by Laws of 1921, ch. 187) required seats to be furnished in "manufacturing establishments" where females were employed. Information from the office of the State labor commission is to the effect that this law applies to canneries.

condition.[12] Those in 35 establishments were reported as in good condition, and in 9 the toilets were cleaned daily. The number provided, however, was usually insufficient. (See report on Maryland, p. 92.) In 18 canneries the same toilets were used by both cannery employees and camp occupants. Seventeen of 38 other canneries about which reports were obtained had 25 persons or more for each toilet. One of these had only one toilet for 65 persons. Good washing facilities—sink, soap, and paper towels—were furnished in only a few canneries.[13]

THE LABOR SUPPLY

CHARACTER OF LABOR SUPPLY

Both white and negro workers are employed in Delaware canneries; judging from the children at work in the 69 canneries visited, 43 employed both white and negro workers, 19 only white, and 7 only negro. Part of the labor supply is local and part is migratory family labor imported for the tomato and corn canning seasons. Some of the Delaware canneries are in good-sized towns; but even these can not always get a sufficiently large local labor supply for their work, and many are on the outskirts of small towns or villages and a few in rather isolated places in the open country, so that often even though comparatively few workers may be required they must be brought in from other places. Forty-one of the 69 canneries imported workers, 23 all white labor, 12 all negro, and 6 both white and negro. All but one of the canneries in New Castle County and about half those in Kent and Sussex Counties employed migratory family labor. Canneries employing 100 or more workers, even those in towns of 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, and some of the smaller canneries, also, especially those located in villages, generally imported additional labor. A number of canneries situated in rural communities, including some of those that brought in workers for the season, transported some of their workers daily by truck to and from their homes.

Most of the migratory labor was white—Polish families from Baltimore or Italians from Philadelphia. Of the 251 white children imported for work in the Delaware canneries, 208 came from Baltimore, 40 from Philadelphia, and 3 from other places in Delaware or Pennsylvania. The negro migratory labor employed came from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, from the vicinity of Norfolk or the upper peninsula of Virginia, and from Baltimore and Philadelphia. Some of them were apparently habitual migrants. For example, a negro family which claimed Baltimore as a permanent home had gone to four different places during the year to work; they had picked strawberries and dug potatoes in Virginia, had stayed a short time in Maryland, and had then gone to Delaware, where they had picked beans on a farm before going to work in a cannery. White seasonal workers for Delaware as for Maryland canneries are usually recruited through a "row boss," who also supervises their work and is in charge of the labor camp where they live during the season. Some canners who use negro labor employ negro row bosses to recruit

[12] Del., Acts of 1915, ch. 228, sec. 5, specifies that "all toilet rooms shall be kept in a sanitary condition."

[13] A State law (Del., Laws of 1917, ch. 231, as amended by Laws of 1921, ch. 187) required that suitable toilets be provided (at a ratio of 1 for every 25 females where 15 or more females were employed) in "manufacturing establishments" where females were employed, and that they be kept clean and in a sanitary condition, and that washing facilities be furnished. Information from the office of the State labor commission is to the effect that this law applies to canneries.

workers of their own race, but others depend on workers to drift in and apply for work.

Information as to the proportion of whites and negroes among local workers was not obtained, but according to the figures for child workers the proportion of each was about the same, 190 local negro children having been found employed in canneries compared with 183 white.

Women and girl workers predominate in the canneries, constituting 56 per cent of the total number reported. In only 11 canneries were male workers in the majority.

RECRUITING FAMILY LABOR IN BALTIMORE

The row boss who procures workers for Delaware canneries is generally a member of the community in which families accustomed to migrate for seasonal work live. Ten of the fourteen row bosses who were interviewed at their Baltimore homes during the course of the inquiry concerning methods of recruiting cannery labor were born in Poland; the others were native born but could usually speak Polish. In the winter the row bosses work in the city at unskilled or semi-skilled work, and in the summer they go with their families to the canneries for the six to eight weeks of the canning season. After they reach the canneries they are paid a weekly or monthly wage for their services; for recruiting labor in the city they are paid a weekly wage while recruiting or, more often, they receive a commission for each worker procured. Ten of the 23 Delaware canners who imported only white labor paid the row boss a fixed sum for each worker, usually from 50 cents to $1; 2 canners employed the same row boss for recruiting workers and together paid him $125 for the work in addition to a weekly salary.

Some row bosses, 9 of the 14 interviewed, have a written agreement with the canner as to the number of workers needed, the rate at which they are to be paid, and a statement about their transportation. A statement concerning housing is seldom included. The terms under which the row boss hires workers, whether written or unwritten, are much the same in different canneries, according to well-established custom. The employer houses the workers and provides water, fuel, stoves, and lumber out of which bunks, tables, and benches can be constructed; the workers provide their bedding and cooking utensils and pay for their food. Some employers orally promise the row boss that the shacks will be in good repair and the water supply satisfactory. The agreement as to transportation, whether oral or written, is usually definite. Most canners provide transportation, by boat, train, or truck, depending upon their location, at least to the cannery; many provide it both ways if the workers remain until the end of the season. Transfer of baggage, chests, bundles, feather beds, and blankets is included in transportation. Of 26 canners who employed white migratory workers during 1925, 21 paid transportation both ways for their workers and 5 provided transportation either to or from the cannery. It is not customary for employers to provide medical attention, but a few promised to furnish a doctor or send the patient to a hospital, if necessary. Practically all canners give the row boss a sum of money to loan families who promise to go to the country, and some also give a sum of money to "treat" the workers. All the row bosses interviewed reported that they had loaned the families small sums, from $5 to $25, which would later be deducted

from their pay, to enable them to lay in a stock of groceries and make other preparations before leaving the city.

Competition for workers between row bosses is keen. They usually make a house-to-house canvass as well as visit families that they know are in the habit of doing seasonal work. Sometimes one family has visits from three or four different row bosses, each vying with the other in praising his cannery. Hence the success of the row boss in getting workers depends largely on his popularity and on the skill with which he describes the advantages of his cannery. One row boss said that engaging workers was a "cut-throat business," and gave as an example that one row boss would tell a mother that her children of 11 and 12 would not be allowed to work, and another would tell her that the children of these ages could work and so she could make more money in the cannery he represented. It is said to be easier to get workers for Delaware than for Maryland canneries because the minimum age at which children can work is lower in Delaware than in Maryland. Some of the row bosses interviewed claimed that it was more difficult than it used to be to get workers to go to the canneries because there are few new immigrants and those who have been in this country a number of years do not wish to leave the conveniences of city life for the conditions they will find in the camps. Working boys and girls also are loath to leave their better paid city jobs.

Under these conditions the row boss is tempted to make the prospective workers promises that they know can not be fulfilled, and as some of the families interviewed said, forget all about their promises when they get the workers to the cannery. As a consequence in one cannery the men employees organized a strike after they discovered that the canner was paying them only 40 cents an hour instead of the 45 cents promised by the row boss. In another cannery where employees complained that the promises made to them had not been kept, it was stated that one of the workers, when drunk, had shot and killed the row boss.

BALTIMORE FAMILIES MIGRATING FOR WORK IN DELAWARE CANNERIES

In connection with the Children's Bureau study of the work of children in Delaware canneries a special survey was made of the white migratory families whose homes were in Baltimore, including about 70 per cent of all the migratory children in the canneries. One hundred and fifty white families in which were 202 of the 208 Baltimore children under 16 who were working in Delaware canneries at the time of the visits were interviewed.

The fathers of 126 of the families were foreign born and with 7 exceptions were Polish. They were chiefly unskilled laborers, stevedores, or factory operatives, though some were skilled workers. About one-half migrated with their families for cannery work. Many of those who migrated for the tomato and corn seasons in Delaware did other kinds of seasonal work. More than one-third of the 150 families who had migrated the year of the survey had done farm work in the early summer before going to the canneries, and 8 others besides working in the cannery had picked beans in the same district. Fifty-two families had gone to various places in Maryland in the early summer for truck-farm work, many of them remaining on the truck farms during the strawberry, pea, and bean picking season and returning to their Baltimore homes only about a month before it was time to start for the Delaware canneries in September. One

family, after returning from the Delaware canneries in October, had left soon after for work in an oyster cannery in South Carolina.

The children in such families are in the habit of going with their mothers to the cannery camps every summer and, as soon as they are old enough, start work in the cannery. Some of the children had never migrated for cannery work before the year of the survey, but 125 (more than three-fifths) had gone to the cannery districts with their families three years or more, 73 (more than one-third) five years or more, and 32 ten years or more.

The families leaving the city for cannery work usually go about the middle or end of August and remain at the canneries six to nine weeks, returning to the city the first or second week in October. Of 183 children who reported the length of time they had been away from the city for cannery work, 116 had been away seven weeks or more and 52 eight weeks or more. Those picking strawberries, beans, or peas leave the city toward the end of May and do not return until five or six weeks later, after the end of the school term. Of the 202 children in the families interviewed in Baltimore 121 were away from the city 8 weeks or more for cannery or for cannery and truck-farm work and 59 were away 12 weeks or more.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

THE WORKING CHILDREN

Children under 16 were found at work in 69 of the 71 canneries visited, their number being 662 (9 per cent of all the workers). (Table 7, p.30.) The majority (56 per cent) were girls. About one-third (34 per cent) were negroes, among whom the proportion of girls was 64 per cent. Of the 662 children 289 (44 per cent), a considerably larger proportion than in any of the other States in which the bureau inquiry was made, were nonresident children who had migrated to the canneries with their families for the season. Most of these children were white, 87 per cent contrasted with 78 per cent of the children working in the canneries of Maryland (see p.98). Table 8 shows the race and residence of children employed in canneries in the different counties.

TABLE 8.—*Race of local and migratory children under 16 years of age employed in canneries in Delaware counties*

Race of local and migratory children	Children under 16 years employed							
	Total		Kent County		New Castle County		Sussex County	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	662	100.0	234	100.0	118	100.0	310	100.0
White	434	65.6	139	59.4	108	91.5	187	60.3
Negro	228	34.4	95	40.6	10	8.5	123	39.7
Local	373	56.3	143	61.1	21	17.8	209	67.4
White	183	27.6	65	27.8	13	11.0	105	33.9
Negro	190	28.7	78	33.3	8	6.8	104	33.5
Migratory	289	43.7	91	38.9	97	82.2	101	32.6
White	251	37.9	74	31.6	95	80.5	82	26.5
Negro	38	5.7	17	7.3	2	1.7	19	6.1

AGES OF CHILDREN AND VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

As Delaware is one of the few States where children under 14 years of age are permitted by law to work in canneries (see p. 14), it would be expected that a larger proportion of children under 14 would be found in the Delaware canneries than in those of any of the other States in which the bureau made investigations. Children under 14 were found at work in 61 of the 69 Delaware canneries visited, and 54 per cent of all the children employed were under 14 years of age. (Table 6, p. 29.)

In 39 canneries 114 children (17 per cent of the total number under 16) were found at work who were under 12, the minimum age for legal employment in canneries. (Table 9.) Twenty-eight children, 12 girls and 16 boys, were under 10, including 4 boys and 2 girls under 8 years of age.[14]

TABLE 9.—*Race of local and migratory children of specified ages employed in Delaware canneries*

Race of local and migratory children	Children under 16 years employed							
	Total	Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total	662	359	54.2	114	17.2	28	4.2	
White	434	238	54.8	80	18.4	18	4.1	
Negro	228	121	53.1	34	14.9	10	4.4	
Local	373	161	43.2	40	10.7	14	3.8	
White	183	64	35.0	15	8.2	6	3.3	
Negro	190	97	51.1	25	13.2	8	4.2	
Migratory	289	198	68.5	74	25.6	14	4.8	
White	251	174	69.3	65	25.9	12	4.8	
Negro	38	24	----	9	----	2	----	

Migratory children more than local children worked under the legal minimum age. White migratory children constituted 57 per cent of the children under 12, but only 38 per cent of the total number of working children.

Although violation of the minimum age law was rather general, children under 12 being found at work in more than half the canneries visited, some variation in the extent to which young children were employed appeared in different localities and in different canneries. The largest proportion of canneries violating the law and the largest percentage of child workers under 12 were found in New Castle County. Here an unusually large proportion of the children employed (81 per cent) were white migratory workers. Almost all the canneries employing more than 1 or 2 underage children imported their laborers for the season. Among the 39 canneries in which children under 12 were found at work were a number in which one-third or more of the child workers were under 12. In each of 13

[14] In connection with the home visits made for the purpose of verifying the ages of these children, information was obtained regarding 65 other children under 16 years of age who were employed on or about the date of the visits in these canneries. Fifteen of these were under 12, and 5, including 3 girls, were under 10 years of age.

canneries employing an average number of 16 children under 16 years of age were 4 or more children under 12 at work.

Undoubtedly a larger number of young children were employed in the Delaware canneries than those actually found at work by bureau agents. In many canneries a general exodus of children occurred as soon as the bureau agents were seen entering the door. Some of these children were brought back to their work places by the row boss or manager or they returned voluntarily after the investigators had explained that they were not there for the purpose of enforcing the law, and others were interviewed later outside the cannery or in the camps. In more than half the canneries where children had been seen running out, the investigators reported that they believed they had been able to interview all or most of them. In a number of canneries, however, the children did not return, and it was impossible to get information about them from the management or from adult workers.

In a few cases the action of the children could be traced definitely to unwillingness of the canners to be caught in a violation of the State child labor law. In most cases there was no evidence that the owner or manager of the cannery had told the children after the appearance of the inspectors to leave the premises, but the fact that they were seen leaving the workrooms in many canneries (more than one-third of those visited) indicated that a general understanding existed that when strangers appeared it was advisable to leave. The manager of one cannery said that the State inspector had caught young children in the cannery twice earlier in the season and that it was because of this that they had run out when the bureau representatives entered. Another cannery, where the manager kept the bureau agents waiting outside until he had sent the children out, had been fined shortly before the interview by the State child-labor inspector for violation of the law. The manager of another cannery visited at 7.15 p. m. not only told the children to leave as soon as the bureau agents entered the cannery, but also telephoned a neighboring cannery and, as he later told the agents, warned them of the visit and advised them to send away all their child workers. This manager said he planned to have a guard constantly on the job another year watching out for inspectors so that he would not be caught unawares.

Fear of being caught by school-attendance officers doubtless was a direct cause of the flight of some of the children. All the schools in the State except those in Wilmington had been running for at least a week before the first Delaware cannery was visited, and the great majority of the children found at work in the canneries were of the ages covered by the Delaware school attendance law—that is, they either were under 14 or were between 14 and 16 and had not completed the eighth grade. However, because of the exemptions allowing attendance under certain conditions for only a part of the school term,[15] their absence from school at this time may not have been in fact a violation of the law.

[15] In cases of "necessary and legal absence" (to be determined by rule of the State board of education) a child of any age might be excused from attendance, provided that he attended school at some time during the session for at least 120 days. The rules of the board allow the assistant superintendent in charge of elementary schools to grant such excuses to a child between 12 and 14 for "agricultural or other work" when "necessity seems to justify" his action. Unless thus exempted, children between 7 and 14 years of age were required to attend school for the miniumm term of 160 days. Children 14 or 15 years of age who had not completed the eighth grade were required to attend also, but only for 100 days, beginning not later than November 1. (Del., Laws of 1921, ch. 160.)

In one cannery visited in which the labor was largely local a little girl ran out of the peeling room as soon as the agents appeared. When her older sister, who was working beside her, learned the reason for the agents' visit she called the younger child back and apologized for her running out, saying that she thought they had come to take her out of the cannery and put her into school.

In a few cases managers and parents said that the children who had been seen running out of the cannery were not employed but merely playing around while their mothers were at work. Almost all those who were seen leaving and were later interviewed, however, said themselves or their parents said that they had been at work, and in many cases where no such admission was made, there were empty places at the peeling tables where the children had first been seen.

In a few canneries in which young children were found at work the management stated that no children under 16 were employed. In one, in which 16 children under 16 (including 7 later found to be under 14, 1 under 12) were found at work, almost all the children said that they were under 16, but the row boss in giving information as to the number and ages of the persons living in the camps reported no children between the ages of 10 and 16, asserting that all those between these ages had returned to the city.

Some canners were undoubtedly sincere in stating that they did not wish to employ young children, and the reason for the children's leaving the canneries at the appearance of the agents was probably largely fear that the management would discover their true ages. In one establishment where 5 children under 16 (including 1 girl of 12 and 1 of 13) were employed the canner had told parents that he did not want any child under 16 years, and the bureau agents had great difficulty in getting information from the parents as to the children's true ages. The parents had apparently falsified the children's ages to the canner in order to get employment and were reluctant to give the true ages to the agent.

The results of the bureau's inquiry indicate that few Delaware canners are opposed to the employment of children of legal working age in their plants, but that in many cases the employment of underage children is the result of negligence rather than any definite policy on the part of the management. Where part of the labor supply was migratory and supplying the cannery with workers was customarily the task of the row boss, one of his responsibilities at least in a number of instances was to see that the canner did not get into trouble over violations of the State labor laws. Some of the row bosses, however, were ignorant of the legal restriction on the age for work in canneries.

KINDS OF WORK

Tomato peeling was the occupation in which the largest number of the children were engaged, 337 (90 per cent) of the 374 girls and 55 (19 per cent) of the 288 boys. Can boys and can girls were the next in number, 132 (46 per cent) of the boys and 11 girls. (Table 10.)

Few girls were employed in any other work. Ten sorted lima beans (5 of these working on the line), 4 husked corn by hand, 4 packed tomatoes, 6 sorted tomatoes on the line, and 1 salted and 1 juiced tomatoes. No girls operated machines.

TABLE 10.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Delaware canneries*

Product and process, and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	662	100.0	359	100.0	114	100.0	28
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	426	64.3	229	63.8	87	76.3	21
Peeling	392	59.2	221	61.6	84	73.7	20
Carrying	11	1.7	2	.6			
Sorting	6	.9	1	.3			
Other	17	2.6	5	1.4	3	2.6	
Lima beans	11	1.7	2	.6			
Sorting	10	1.5	2	.6			
Taking off vines	1	.2					
Corn	5	.8	4	1.1	2	1.8	
Husking	4	.6	4	1.1	2	1.8	
Operating silking machine	1	.2					
General occupations	220	33.2	124	34.5	25	21.9	7
Can boys and girls	143	21.6	90	25.1	13	11.4	2
Piling cans in crates	17	2.6	9	2.5	3	2.6	
Packing and stacking filled cans	16	2.4	6	1.7	2	1.8	2
Trucking and carrying	11	1.7	3	.8	3	2.6	3
Other	33	5.0	16	4.5	4	3.5	
Boys	288	100.0	170	100.0	56	100.0	16
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	79	47.4	54	31.8	32	57.1	9
Peeling	55	19.1	47	27.6	29	51.8	8
Carrying	11	3.8	2	1.2			
Other	13	4.5	5	2.9	3	5.4	1
Lima beans: Taking off vines	1	.3					
Corn: Operating silking machine	1	.3					
General occupations	207	71.9	116	68.2	24	42.9	7
Can boys	132	45.8	82	48.2	12	21.4	2
Piling cans in crates	17	5.9	9	5.3	3	5.4	
Packing and stacking filled cans	16	5.6	6	3.5	2	3.6	2
Trucking and carrying	11	3.8	3	1.8	3	5.4	3
Other	31	10.8	16	9.4	4	7.1	
Girls	374	100.0	189	100.0	58	100.0	12
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	347	92.8	175	92.6	55	94.8	12
Peeling	337	90.1	174	92.1	55	94.8	12
Sorting	6	1.6	1	.5			
Other	4	1.1					
Lima beans: Sorting	10	2.7	2	1.1			
Corn: Husking	4	1.1	4	2.1	2	3.4	
General occupations	13	3.5	8	4.2	1	1.7	
Can girl	11	2.9	8	4.2	1	1.7	
Other	2	.5					

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The boys had a greater variety of work. Eleven operated power machines, which were usually operated by adults, 6 running closing machines, 3 operating the scalders, 1 a filling machine, and 1 a corn-silking machine. A number of other boys worked in close contact with machinery, though they did not actually operate the machines. Seventeen were "piling in"; that is, they stood at the end of the line

and caught the hot cans which came off the closing machine and piled them into iron crates, an occupation that requires constant lifting and stooping and a good deal of strength. One 17-year-old boy who was "piling in" placed his hand too near the machinery, so that his finger was caught and the nail torn off. Ten other boys, though not actually operating machines, were employed in such jobs as watching the filling machine or taking tomatoes off the scalding machine. Ten boys were employed in light work "on the line," watching, straightening, salting, or juicing the cans. Seven others were doing other types of light work, sorting tomatoes, making cartons, or stamping and stenciling cases in the warehouse. Most of the remaining 49 boys had jobs that demanded exertion and strength. Eleven boys were "carriers," or "pan boys"—that is, they carried pans or pails of tomatoes or waste from one operation to another; and 3 "pushed skins"—that is, pushed the waste with wooden paddles on the floors into the gutters. Sixteen were engaged in piling and stacking filled cans in the warehouse and 11 others in trucking or carrying, including a few who did comparatively light work such as carrying empty boxes and others who did heavy work such as pulling racks on which catchup bottles were stacked or trucking crates or cases of filled cans from the cooker to the warehouse or from the warehouse to freight cars for shipping.

All but 3 of the girls under 12 and all of those under 10 years were employed as peelers, and the majority of the younger boys were also engaged in this occupation. Fifteen boys under 12, however, including 6 under 10 years of age, were employed in various other occupations about the cannery, some in heavy jobs for young children. Two boys of 10 and 1 of 11 years caught the hot cans as they came from the closing machine and piled them into crates; 1 boy of 11 was employed in a tomato cannery to push the filled baskets away from the end of the scalder; 1 boy of 8 years and 2 of 9 years carried empty wooden boxes from the warehouse to the cannery, and 2 boys of 9 were employed to pack filled cans in cases. One boy of 11 was found operating a scalding machine, a responsible job usually filled by an adult.

HOURS OF WORK

Daily hours.

Delaware exempts workers in fruit and vegetable canneries from the provision of its child labor law fixing a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week for children under 16 employed in "any establishment or occupation."[16] In the great majority of the canneries included in the Children's Bureau inquiry it was reported that children worked the usual daily hours of the establishment.

Canners are not legally required to keep time records. Twenty-nine of the 69 canneries visited kept satisfactory time records (that is, records showing the hour of beginning and ending work and the time out for lunch for workers who were paid on a time basis); most of the other canneries kept some kind of time record showing at least total daily hours for those employed on a time basis. For piece workers, however, satisfactory time records were rarely found. More than half of the children included in the study were tomato peelers, work which is paid for on a piece basis. A statement of the hours of the

[16] Work on farms and in domestic service in private houses is also exempted.

children for whom satisfactory time records were not available was obtained from parents, employers or adults or, in exceptional cases, from the children themselves.

Information as to daily hours of work was obtained for all but 3 of the 662 children under 16 found at work, but 31 worked such irregular hours that the number could not be recorded. Of the 628 children for whom definite hours were reported, 600 (96 per cent) worked more than 8 hours a day, 562 (90 per cent) worked 10 hours or more, 256 (41 per cent) worked 12 hours or more, and 84 (13 per cent) worked 14 hours or more. (Table 11.) All canneries employing minors under 16 had some children working more than 8 hours a day. More than half the children working 10 hours or more a day, more than two-fifths of those working 12 hours or more, and a considerable proportion of those working longer hours were girls.

TABLE 11.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by local and migratory children under 16 years of age of specified race in Delaware canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total			Local			Migratory		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	662	434	228	373	183	190	289	251	38
Total reported	628	409	219	355	173	182	273	236	37
8 hours and under	28	9	19	23	5	18	5	4	1
Over 8 hours	600	400	200	332	168	164	268	232	36
10 hours and over	562	380	182	300	153	147	262	227	35
12 hours and over	256	195	61	120	67	53	136	128	8
14 hours and over	84	75	9	18	12	6	66	63	3
16 hours and over	18	15	3	7	6	1	11	9	2
Irregular	31	22	9	17	9	8	14	13	1
Not reported	3	3		1	1		2	2	
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION[1]								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(1)
8 hours and under	4.5	2.2	8.7	6.5	2.9	9.9	1.8	1.7	
Over 8 hours	95.5	97.8	91.3	93.5	97.1	90.1	98.2	98.3	
10 hours and over	89.5	92.9	83.1	84.5	88.4	80.8	96.0	96.2	
12 hours and over	40.8	47.7	27.9	33.8	38.7	29.1	49.8	54.2	
14 hours and over	13.4	18.3	4.1	5.1	6.9	3.3	24.2	26.7	
16 hours and over	2.9	3.7	1.4	2.0	3.5	.5	4.0	3.8	

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

Ten hours was the most usual period of daily employment, and 252 (40 per cent) of the children (including 31 per cent of the boys and 47 per cent of the girls) had a working day of between 10 and 11 hours. The next largest number of children, 95 (15 per cent), 45 of whom were girls, worked between 13 and 14 hours. Seventy-seven children worked between 12 and 13, and 59 between 14 and 15 hours.

A larger proportion of the local children than of the migratory children (50 per cent compared with 34 per cent) worked 12 hours or more. (Table 11.) The longest hours were reported for the migratory white children, of whom 54 per cent worked at least 12 hours, and 27 per cent, compared with 13 per cent of all the children for whom hours were reported, worked 14 hours or more. In each group the white children worked longer hours than the negro, 48 per cent of the former for whom information as to daily hours was avail-

able working 12 hours or more as compared with 28 per cent of the total number of negro children. Of the 84 children working 14 hours or more, only 9 were negro.

Many young children worked long hours. (Table 12.) Half (51 per cent) of those who worked more than 8 hours a day, and almost as large a proportion (47 per cent) of the girls who did so, were under 14 years of age. Eighty-two (14 per cent) of the children who worked more than 8 hours, including 12 per cent of the girls, were under 12 years, the legal age for employment. Thirteen children (10 boys and 3 girls) under 10 worked more than 8 hours; 6 boys of 9 years and 2 of 8 years, and 2 girls of 9 years, working 10 hours or more. A 12-hour day was reported for one 9-year-old boy, 13 hours for another.

TABLE 12.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Delaware canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years [1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution [1]	
Total	662		359		114		28
Total reported	628	100.0	330	100.0	92	100.0	17
8 hours and under	28	4.5	24	7.3	10	10.9	4
Over 8 hours	600	95.5	306	92.7	82	89.1	13
10 hours and over	562	89.5	285	86.4	71	77.2	10
12 hours and over	256	40.8	128	38.8	27	29.3	2
14 hours and over	84	13.4	43	13.0	9	9.8	
16 hours and over	18	2.9	3	0.9			
Irregular	31		26		19		10
Not reported	3		3		3		1
Boys	288		170		56		16
Total reported	273	100.0	156	100.0	45		12
8 hours and under	7	2.6	7	4.5	3		2
Over 8 hours	266	97.4	149	95.5	42		10
10 hours and over	261	95.6	144	92.3	39		8
12 hours and over	146	53.5	76	48.7	15		2
14 hours and over	55	20.1	27	17.3	3		
16 hours and over	17	6.2	3	1.9			
Irregular	12		11		8		3
Not reported	3		3		3		1
Girls	374		189		58		12
Total reported	355	100.0	174	100.0	47		5
8 hours and under	21	5.9	17	9.8	7		2
Over 8 hours	334	94.1	157	90.2	40		3
10 hours and over	301	84.8	141	81.0	32		2
12 hours and over	110	31.0	52	29.9	12		
14 hours and over	29	8.2	16	9.2	6		
16 hours and over	1	.3					
Irregular	19		15		11		7

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The tomato peelers, especially local children, did not work as long hours as the children who did miscellaneous or general work. A working day of less than 10 hours was reported for 26 per cent of 195 resident and for 7 per cent of 167 nonresident tomato peelers. A few of them worked 8 hours or less. Of the 217 children who were can boys or girls or did other general or miscellaneous work, 98 per cent worked 10 hours or more and 57 per cent 12 hours or more. Most of the 84 children who worked 14 hours or more were boys who did miscellaneous or general work, such as piling cans in crates, trucking, packing

and piling cans, or handling empty cans. One boy who operated a scalding machine, 2 who operated closing machines, and 2 who did trucking and carrying worked 16 hours or more. Twenty-two tomato peelers, all nonresident children, were employed at least a 14-hour day.

Weekly hours.

Information as to weekly hours of labor was obtained for only 171 of the 662 children who were found at work. Of these, 150 (88 per cent) worked more than 48 hours a week; 91 (53 per cent) worked 60 hours or more; 38 (22 per cent) worked 70 hours or more; and 8 worked at least 80 hours. (Table 13.) Many of these children had worked only five days in the week for which the information was obtained.

TABLE 13.—*Number of hours of work in a typical week of boys and girls of specified ages employed in Delaware canneries*

Number of hours of work in a typical week and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed					
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years[1]	Under 10 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution		
Total	662		359		114	28
Total reported	171	100.0	87	100.0	18	4
48 hours and under	21	12.3	11	12.6	2	
Over 48 hours	150	87.7	76	87.4	16	4
60 hours and over	91	53.2	43	49.4	9	2
70 hours and over	38	22.2	17	19.5	3	
80 hours and over	8	4.7	2	2.3		
90 hours and over	4	2.3				
Not reported	491		272		96	24
Boys	288		170		56	16
Total reported	154	100.0	82	100.0	18	4
48 hours and under	19	12.3	10	12.2	2	
Over 48 hours	135	87.7	72	87.8	16	4
60 hours and over	82	53.2	40	48.8	9	2
70 hours and over	36	23.4	16	19.5	3	
80 hours and over	8	5.2	2	2.4		
90 hours and over	4	2.6				
Not reported	134		88		38	12
Girls	374		189		58	12
Total reported	17		5			
48 hours and under	2		1			
Over 48 hours	15		4			
60 hours and over	9		3			
70 hours and over	2		1			
Not reported	357		184		58	12

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The time records showed a long working week for many of the younger children for whom such information was available. Half those working more than 48 hours were under 14. Nine boys under 12 worked a 60-hour week or more, and 3 worked at least 70 hours.

The children for whom information as to weekly hours was available were not representative of the total number found employed. First, 90 per cent were boys, compared with 44 per cent of the total number employed. Second, most of them were engaged in occupations paid for on a time basis, such as shooting cans or other general work, whereas the majority of the child workers in the canneries were on piecework occupations, such as peeling. Thus weekly hours were

reported for 88 of the 143 can boys and girls, but for only 1 of the 382 peelers. Third, as might have been expected from their occupational distribution, they worked longer daily hours than the employed children as a whole, 68 per cent working 12 hours a day or more as compared with 41 per cent of the total number of children for whom daily hours were reported. For 42 of the 91 children for whom time records showed that they had worked 60 hours or more in one week, a working day of 14 hours or more was recorded, and for 16 a working day of at least 16 hours; 36 boys and 2 girls had worked a week of at least 70 hours.

Night work.

The majority (58 per cent) of the children under 16 found at work (including 52 per cent of the girls employed) had worked at night, that is, after 7 p. m., one or more nights during the season of the survey. In other industrial employment their work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. would have been illegal. In 52 canneries some children were found to have worked at night at some time during the season. Eight children reported going to work between 5 and 6 a. m. at some time or times during the season. Night work was more common among migratory than among local children, 64 per cent of the former compared with 54 per cent of the latter having worked at night. The largest proportion (70 per cent) of children working at night was found among the white migratory workers. (Table 14.) Night work was less prevalent among the negro than among the white children.

TABLE 14.—*Local and migratory boys and girls of specified ages employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in Delaware canneries*

Age and sex	Children under 16 years employed											
	Total				Local				Migratory			
	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.
		Number	Per cent[1]			Number	Per cent[1]			Number	Per cent[1]	
Total	662	387	58.5	275	373	201	53.9	172	289	186	64.4	103
Under 8 years	6	------	------	6	4	------	------	4	2	------	------	2
Under 10 years	28	8	------	20	14	5	------	9	14	3	------	11
Under 12 years	114	56	49.1	58	40	16	------	24	74	40	54.1	34
Under 14 years	359	201	56.0	158	161	79	49.1	82	198	122	61.6	76
14 years, under 16	303	186	61.4	117	212	122	57.5	90	91	64	70.3	27
Boys	288	191	66.3	97	156	100	64.1	56	132	91	68.9	41
Under 8 years	4	------	------	4	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	2
Under 10 years	16	5	------	11	7	2	------	5	9	3	------	6
Under 12 years	56	28	50.0	28	18	7	------	11	38	21	------	17
Under 14 years	170	106	62.4	64	73	42	57.5	31	97	64	66.0	33
14 years, under 16	118	85	72.0	33	83	58	69.9	25	35	27	------	8
Girls	374	196	52.4	178	217	101	46.5	116	157	95	60.5	62
Under 8 years	2	------	------	2	2	------	------	2	------	------	------	------
Under 10 years	12	3	------	9	7	3	------	4	5	------	------	5
Under 12 years	58	28	48.3	30	22	9	------	13	36	19	------	17
Under 14 years	189	95	50.3	94	88	37	42.0	51	101	58	57.4	43
14 years, under 16	185	101	54.6	84	129	64	49.6	65	56	37	66.1	19

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

The number of nights worked ranged from one or two to every night for three or four weeks at the height of the season. Half (49 per cent) of the 309 night workers for whom the number of nights worked was reported were employed after 7 p. m. for at least six nights during the season. Migratory workers had worked at night more frequently than local workers, 58 per cent of the former compared with 42 per cent of the latter having worked six nights or more. In one case the mother reported that her child, a boy of 15, had worked most of the nights the cannery ran. Twenty-eight children had worked as late as 11 or 11.30 and a dozen or so until midnight, and for several children later hours were reported, but about four-fifths worked until between 9 and 10.30 p. m. In general, the hours of night work were from 6, 6.30, or 7 to 9, 9.30, 10, or 10.30.

Of the children who worked at night 201 (52 per cent) were under 14, and 56 (14 per cent, one-half of whom were girls) were under 12, the legal age for employment in the Delaware canneries. Five boys and three girls were under 10. Of the children under 12, 29 had worked until 10 p. m. or later. These included 3 boys and 1 girl of 9 and 1 girl of 8.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Cannery work interfered with the school attendance of both local and migratory children who worked in canneries packing tomatoes. The tomato season extends into October, and almost all the Delaware schools opened in the fall of 1925 on September 8, a week before the first cannery was visited in that State. Although a few of the local children employed in the canneries were reported to be attending school part of the day, the great majority were working a full day in the canneries at the time of the survey. As none of the children in migratory families, whether employed in the canneries or not, was attending the local schools, a considerable number of migratory children of school age were in the camps in addition to the 289 found employed in the canneries. Most of the migratory children came from Baltimore, where the schools opened on September 8, or from Philadelphia, where the schools opened September 9, and where school attendance was compulsory for all children under 16 who had not completed the fifth or sixth grade, respectively.[17]

Many of the migratory children migrated from their city homes season after season. Sometimes they left home weeks before the close of the school year and almost always returned after school had opened in the fall (see p. 36), so that in spite of the advantages of a city school system their opportunities for schooling often had been more limited than those of school children in rural districts. Nine-tenths (91 per cent) of the 195 white migratory children from Baltimore of compulsory school age who reported the date of their return home reached the city three weeks or more after the public schools opened and more than half (55 per cent) four weeks or more. Twenty-five per cent had left the city in May at least four weeks before school closed. Information on the migrations of the few migratory negro families whose children worked in the Delaware canneries was not obtained systematically as for the white migratory families, but, judging from the information that was obtained by the bureau agents, in many cases their wanderings had covered a number of years and had interfered

[17] With certain exemptions for "urgent" reasons or for "necessary and legal absence."

at least as much with the children's schooling as had the migrations of the white families.

Information as to school grade was obtained for 639 of the 662 children under 16 found at work in the Delaware canneries. Of these only 88 (14 per cent) had attended or completed the eighth grade, completion of which is legally required in Delaware for children under 16 employed during school hours in other industries.[18] Three hundred and ten (49 per cent) had not reached the sixth grade, although more than four-fifths of the children were at least 12 years of age and according to standards used by the United States Office of Education [18a] might have been expected to have entered at least the sixth grade. One hundred and eleven children (17 per cent) had not entered the fourth grade, although only 25 (4 per cent) were under 10 years of age, the age when they might have been expected to have done so. Even among the children 14 or 15, 78 (26 per cent) had not entered the sixth grade, and 24 (8 per cent) had not reached the fourth. (Tables 15 and 16.)

TABLE 15.—*Last school grade attended or completed by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Delaware canneries*

Grade and sex	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total	10 years and under	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years
Total	662	58	56	103	142	162	141
Total reported	639	55	55	100	133	158	138
Under 4th grade	111	39	20	14	14	12	12
4th grade	91	13	16	20	20	13	9
5th grade	108	2	10	33	31	26	6
6th grade	133		7	24	34	40	28
7th grade	108		2	9	21	41	35
8th grade	65				12	18	34
9th grade	19				1	8	10
10th grade	2						2
11th grade	1						1
12th grade	1						1
Not reported	22	3	1	3	9	3	3
Special grade	1					1	
Boys	288	30	26	48	66	60	58
Total reported	278	28	25	47	63	58	57
Under 4th grade	57	18	9	7	8	7	8
4th grade	42	8	8	9	9	5	3
5th grade	53	1	4	15	16	13	4
6th grade	50		4	10	15	13	8
7th grade	40			6	9	13	12
8th grade	23	1			5	2	15
9th grade	10				1	5	4
10th grade	2						2
12th grade	1						1
Not reported	9	2	1	1	3	1	1
Special grade	1					1	
Girls	374	28	30	55	76	102	83
Total reported	361	27	30	53	70	100	81
Under 4th grade	54	21	11	7	6	5	4
4th grade	49	5	8	11	11	8	6
5th grade	55	1	6	18	15	13	2
6th grade	83		3	14	19	27	20
7th grade	68		2	3	12	28	23
8th grade	42				7	16	19
9th grade	9					3	6
11th grade	1						1
Not reported	13	1		2	6	2	2

[18] The completion of the eighth grade, with certain exemptions, is required indirectly through the compulsory school attendance law. Work on farms and in domestic service in private houses is also exempted.

[18a] These standards are as follows: Children of 6 or 7 years are expected to enter the first grade, children of 7 or 8 the second grade, etc. Normally a child is expected to complete one grade each year; children are considered retarded, therefore, if they have not entered the second grade by the time they reach the age of 8 years, the third grade at 9 years, the fourth grade at 10 years, etc.

TABLE 16.—*Last school grade attended or completed by 14 and 15 year old local and migratory children of specified race employed in Delaware canneries*

Grade	Children of 14 and 15 years employed								
	Total	White	Negro	Local			Migratory		
				Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	303	196	107	212	119	93	91	77	14
Total reported	296	191	105	210	119	91	86	72	14
Under 4th grade	24	4	20	18	4	14	6	----	6
4th grade	22	7	15	13	3	10	9	4	5
5th grade	32	22	10	24	14	10	8	8	----
6th grade	68	49	19	34	16	18	34	33	1
7th grade	76	53	23	59	37	22	17	16	1
8th grade	52	38	14	44	30	14	8	8	----
9th grade	18	14	4	14	11	3	4	3	1
10th grade	2	2	----	2	2	----	----	----	----
11th grade	1	1	----	1	1	----	----	----	----
12th grade	1	1	----	1	1	----	----	----	----
Not reported	6	4	2	2	----	2	4	4	----
Special grade	1	1	----	----	----	----	1	1	----
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION[1]								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(1)
Under 4th grade	8.1	2.1	19.0	8.6	3.4	15.4	7.0	----	----
4th grade	7.4	3.7	14.3	6.2	2.5	11.0	10.5	5.6	----
5th grade	10.8	11.5	9.5	11.4	11.8	11.0	9.3	11.1	----
6th grade	23.0	25.7	18.1	16.2	13.4	19.8	39.5	45.8	----
7th grade	25.7	27.7	21.9	28.1	31.1	24.2	19.8	22.2	----
8th grade	17.6	19.9	13.3	21.0	25.2	15.4	9.3	11.1	----
9th grade	6.1	7.3	3.8	6.7	9.2	3.3	4.7	4.2	----
10th grade	.7	1.0	----	1.0	1.7	----	----	----	----
11th grade	.3	.5	----	.5	.8	----	----	----	----
12th grade	.3	.5	----	.5	.8	----	----	----	----

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

Migratory children had made even less progress in school than children living in the vicinity of the canneries, although about half the latter were negroes and rural negro school children usually have a high rate of retardation. More than half (57 per cent) of the migratory children had not entered the sixth grade and 21 per cent had not entered the fourth. (Table 17.) The proportion of children in the higher grades was also relatively lower than among local children. Negro migratory children in the canneries numbered only 38; 32 of these had not entered the sixth grade as compared with 53 per cent of the migratory white children. Of the 14 migratory negro children 14 and 15 years old, only 3 had reached the sixth grade.

The slow school progress shown by local children working in the canneries was largely due to the negro children; 54 per cent of the local negro children for whom school grade was reported had not entered the sixth grade and 22 per cent were below the fourth grade, whereas 30 per cent of the resident whites were below the sixth and 7 per cent below the fourth. The proportion of negro resident children who were under 12 years was somewhat larger than that of white residents, so that a larger proportion in the lower grades might be

expected, but the older children, also, were backward in school, 37 per cent of those who were 14 or 15 years of age compared with 17 per cent of the white, being in the fifth or a lower grade.

TABLE 17.—*Last school grade attended or completed by local and migratory children under 16 years of age of specified race employed in Delaware canneries*

Grade	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total	White	Negro	Local			Migratory		
				Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	662	434	228	373	183	190	289	251	38
Total reported	639	419	220	361	179	182	278	240	38
Under 4th grade	111	50	61	53	13	40	58	37	21
Under 6th grade	310	180	130	151	53	98	159	127	32
Under 8th grade	551	352	199	293	131	162	258	221	37
8th grade and over	88	67	21	68	48	20	20	19	1
9th grade and over	23	19	4	19	16	3	4	3	1
Not reported	22	14	8	12	4	8	10	10	----
Special grade	1	1	----	----	----	----	1	1	----
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION [1]								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(1)
Under 4th grade	17.4	11.9	27.7	14.7	7.3	22.0	20.9	15.4	----
Under 6th grade	48.5	43.0	59.1	41.8	29.6	53.8	57.2	52.9	----
Under 8th grade	86.2	84.0	90.5	81.2	73.2	89.0	92.8	92.1	----
8th grade and over	13.8	16.0	9.5	18.8	26.8	11.0	7.2	7.9	----
9th grade and over	3.6	4.5	1.8	5.3	8.9	1.6	1.4	1.3	----

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS AND EVIDENCE OF AGE

A great difficulty in enforcing the very slight legal safeguard given children in Delaware canneries—namely, that they shall not work under the age of 12—results from the fact that canneries are exempted from the employment-certificate provisions of the State child labor law. Employers and State factory inspectors are thus deprived of the automatic means of checking up on the ages of the children employed that is afforded in the case of child workers in other industries. Sufficiently reliable evidence of age is required under the Delaware certificate law [19] so that if it were applicable to canneries and were adequately administered it would be possible to eliminate the employment of children under 12. That reliable evidence of age could be obtained for a great majority of the children employed in Delaware canneries is shown by the fact that documentary evidence other than school records, of a kind acceptable under the rules and regulations of the two Federal child labor laws, was obtained by agents of the Children's Bureau for three-fourths of the children found at work.

[19] One of the following proofs of age, to be accepted in the order indicated, is required: (1) Birth certificate; (2) baptismal certificate; (3) passport; (4) other documentary evidence satisfactory to issuing officer, except affidavit of parent; and (5) physician's certificate of age accompanied by parent's affidavit.

LABOR CAMPS FOR CANNERY WORKERS

SIZE OF CAMPS

Camps for migratory workers were maintained in connection with 41 of the 69 canneries visited. Four canneries had two camps each. Children were living in the camps attached to all but 2 of these canneries. In the camps maintained by 33 canneries that reported the number of persons housed, there were at the time of the visits nearly 2,000 persons, or an average of 60 persons a cannery. Sixteen camps housed fewer than 50 persons, 2 had more than 100 persons, and 3 others that did not give the exact number of migratory persons in camp had probably at least 100. About half the 1,288 persons in the camps for white families were children under 16 years, and about a fourth of the 475 persons in camps for negro families only were children under 16, including many children too young to work in the canneries. Most of the canners employed all white or all negro labor, but several housed workers of both races in the same camp; two maintained separate camps for the two races.

HOUSING

The camps varied a great deal in sanitation and equipment. Usually the buildings were of the row-house type, but in several camps they were old dwelling houses; two or three camps had two-story frame or brick buildings, like barns, partitioned into rooms; one camp had 26 detached one-room shacks. None had a one-room dormitory for the families, similar to the housing provided in many of the labor camps maintained by truck farmers in Maryland,[20] but two of the older buildings were divided into compartments, one for each family, by partitions that did not reach the ceiling. Many of the row houses were substantially built, were painted, and had glass windows which could be opened and shut; but some of the older buildings were of flimsy construction, and the air holes or window spaces could be closed only with board shutters. In at least two camps some of the buildings appeared to be ready to collapse; one of the buildings had a leaking roof, and in another building the stairway to the second floor was unsafe, with wide cracks and rotten boards.

A Delaware law passed in 1915, relating to sanitation and inspection of canneries, required that, where living quarters were provided by the canners, provision should be made for the "proper separation and privacy of the sexes."[21] Generally in the camps visited each family had at least one room; in 24 of 43 camps in which children were housed two rooms were allotted to some of the larger families and in a few camps two or more rooms to each family. Privacy was lacking to the extent that in many camps the whole family slept in one bunk or bed space; in some camps each room was furnished with two bunks, one built over the other; one family of 10 persons who slept in a room 12 by 9 feet square had four bunks, built like berths. In one camp of white workers and in two camps of negro workers a separate room for each family was not furnished, and in one of these three girls and three men, said to be unrelated, slept in the same room.

---

[20] Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, p. 25. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 123. Washington, 1923.

[21] Del., Laws of 1915, ch. 228, sec. 5. This law, however, was declared unconstitutional by the State attorney general in 1925. For a summary of State laws and regulations relating to labor camps, including State board of health regulations in Delaware, see Appendix III, p. 223.

HOUSING OF MIGRATORY WORKERS IN MARYLAND AND DELAWARE

Many of the rooms were overcrowded. In 17 camps of white workers, in 10 camps of negro workers, and in 4 camps where both races were housed, the number of persons living in each room was ascertained. In 56 per cent of the rooms of these camps three or more persons lived and slept in a room and in 21 per cent of the rooms five or more persons. Twenty-eight (6 per cent) of the rooms inspected housed seven or more men, women, and children. The extent of overcrowding, according to these figures, was nearly as great as in the Maryland cannery camps. (See p. 127.) Conditions were similar to those in camps for cranberry pickers in New Jersey and in camps for berry pickers on the northern Pacific coast, which are built on much the same plan as cannery camps in Maryland and Delaware.[22] The Delaware law above referred to had no provision requiring a minimum amount of cubic-air space a person, but only a general requirement that "ample light and ventilation" should be provided. The rooms in the row houses inspected were ventilated by a door and one or two windows half the ordinary size. Many of the rooms were only 10 by 10 or 12 by 12 feet square, the roof sloping up to a peak in the center.

As in other camps for migratory workers, the equipment in the Delaware cannery camps consisted of bunks or bed spaces filled with straw, benches, tables, and stoves. Most of the camps visited had some raised bunks, but in 13 camps for white workers and in 5 camps for negroes some of the occupants slept on the floor. The condition of the straw bedding supplied by the canner was not always satisfactory, and some of the workers complained of damp or dirty straw. Some camps had adequate cooking equipment; the stoves in these camps were either on porches that had wooden floors and water-tight roofs or in well-built sheds, of which a few were inclosed, though the majority were open on one or two sides. In other camps the shelters over the stoves and tables were roughly improvised, and in one camp the stoves stood out in the open with no protection against the rain. Several camps were equipped with oil stoves to heat the rooms, as well as with cooking stoves outdoors. The migratory families usually provided their own lamps, but a few canners, to lessen the fire risk, furnished lanterns. Three camps were lighted throughout with electricity, and two were provided with electricity for the porches and kitchen sheds.

Screens for either doors or windows, but seldom both, were provided by the canners in 14 camps. In some of the camps the workers provided their own screens, and in one camp where the canner had screened both doors and windows the workers had also draped their bunks with mosquito netting. One canner protected the campers from intruders by putting coarse wire netting over the windows. In another camp, where the screens and articles from the rooms had been stolen, the workers had boarded up the window spaces for protection. In New York State the need of protection against intruders is recognized, and the State industrial commission has made a rule requiring wire netting or other screening in the windows to prevent the entrance of any person, but not to prevent the free circulation of air.[23]

---

[22] See Work of Children on Truck and Small-Fruit Farms in Southern New Jersey, p. 54 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 132, Washington, 1924); Child Labor in Fruit and Hop Growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast, p. 46 (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 151, Washington, 1926).

[23] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 206.

SANITATION

All the camps visited about which the information was obtained had some kind of toilet facilities, though 18 of them had only the cannery facilities for the camp occupants, including the children. With a few exceptions toilets were separate for the sexes and the number was adequate according to the standard of at least 1 toilet for every 20 persons accepted for labor camps in some States.[24] Outside privies, unscreened and with open backs, were the rule; but in a few camps they were better constructed, and one camp had flush toilets. Some of the canners had taken the responsibility for the sanitation of the camps [25] and appointed an employee to clean or disinfect the privies or to clean up the grounds and empty the garbage cans periodically. In others the privies were in bad condition, and the garbage was thrown carelessly on the ground and left to rot and attract flies.

In many camps complaints were made about the inadequacy and poor quality of the water supply. One or two pumps were usually provided and conveniently located on the camp grounds. The number of pumps was not always sufficient, as in one camp with only 1 pump and 75 occupants. In another, in which 117 persons were dependent on 2 pumps for water for drinking, cooking, and washing, complaints were made about both the inadequacy of the supply and the quality of the water. Eight canners provided no water on the camp grounds, and the campers had to get water at the cannery. In one of these camps the occupants had to go inside the cannery for all their water, including water for laundry, and carry their pails 100 feet across the road. In a few the occupants used the water at the camp only for laundry and bathing and obtained drinking water from neighbors or from the cannery, in one case from the cannery boiler.

CARE OF CHILDREN

Almost no supervision was provided for children in the camps while their mothers were working. As children of 12 years of age were legally allowed to work in the canneries and many younger than 12 did work, few were left in the camps who were old enough to take responsibility for those younger than themselves. Spasmodic attempts were made in some canneries to keep the children out of the workrooms. In one camp housing more than 100 people the canner hired a woman to see that the children were kept out of mischief; in another large camp a watchman was hired for the first part of the season to keep children away from the cannery. In this camp and in two others the canners provided swings or hammocks; in another the canner had built a fence around the camp grounds inside which the children were supposed to stay. The row boss of one cannery where the camp was adjacent to the railroad track allowed the mothers to look after the children in the cannery. With these exceptions the children were left to shift for themselves. Several serious accidents to children were reported. One child was run over by the company truck and suffered a broken ankle;

[24] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 213; Pennsylvania Regulations, State Department of Labor, Rule 316; Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission, Order No. 49.

[25] The Delaware law which was declared unconstitutional in 1925 provided that "no litter, drainage, or waste matter shall be allowed to collect in or around the buildings [including apparently both the cannery and the living quarters], and the surroundings shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition. Occupants of living quarters provided by the canner shall be required to keep the same in a clean and sanitary condition." (Del., Laws of 1915, ch. 228, sec. 5.)

two other children were injured by burns. One of the children burned both feet in hot ashes which had been thrown out of the cannery boilers and was unable to walk for four weeks; the other, a child of 5, died after he had been pushed by another child into an open gutter of steaming water which flowed from the scalding machine outside the cannery.

ILLNESSES IN MIGRATORY FAMILIES

Typhoid fever was reported by eight of the migratory families in the Delaware canneries who were visited in their Baltimore homes. In these families were 15 persons, including 6 children, who were working in the canneries at the time of the Children's Bureau survey, who became ill either while at the camp or soon after their return to the city. The mother and three children in one family had typhoid, and in another family a baby had died of it. A baby in one of the eight families reporting typhoid fever was ill of some form of "intestinal trouble," and in two others of the eight families two babies died of an intestinal disease that had not been diagnosed. In addition to the cases diagnosed as typhoid fever, 13 other families reported that some one in the family—25 persons in all—had been ill at camp of some kind of "intestinal trouble." Three of these had died, two babies in camp and the father of a family three days after returning home.

The 15 persons who were reported to have had typhoid fever had been living in four cannery camps, two of which were in the same district and were owned by the same company. An occupant of one of these camps said that typhoid had always been present there, and that two years before the bureau survey her sister had been ill of the disease and her brother had died of it shortly after his return from the cannery. From the records of the Baltimore Bureau of Communicable Diseases it was learned that in 1922, 10 cases of typhoid fever occurred among members of the Baltimore Polish colony who had gone to canneries in one Delaware town, and in 1923, 10 cases of typhoid had been traced to canneries, 4 to the same one. In 1925, nine cases, some of which had occurred in the families visited during the course of the Children's Bureau study and four of which had resulted in deaths, were traced to Delaware canneries.

SUMMARY

The canning of fruit and vegetables, chiefly tomatoes, peas, beans, and corn, is the third most important industry in Delaware, according to the average number of wage earners employed. No other industry in the State gives employment to so many children. The Children's Bureau visited 71 of the 85 fruit and vegetable canneries at the height of the tomato-packing season, all except two of which were canning tomatoes or tomato products.

Forty-one of the 71 canneries imported migratory, foreign-born, or negro labor, largely in family groups. The migratory workers were housed in labor camps, many of which were overcrowded and insanitary.

Six hundred and sixty-two children under 16 years of age (9 per cent of the total number of workers) were found at work in 69 canneries. Fifty-six per cent of the children were girls. Forty-four

per cent were migratory workers, nearly nine-tenths of whom were white, generally of Polish or of Italian origin. Thirty-four per cent of the total were negroes.

Delaware is one of the few States providing a lower age standard for cannery work than for other occupations. Fifty-four per cent of the child workers were under 14 years of age, and 114 (17 per cent), who were at work in 39 canneries, were under 12, the minimum age for employment in canneries under the Delaware child labor law. The youngest workers found were 8. Sixty-nine per cent of the migratory children were under 14, and 26 per cent were under 12.

Of the girls 90 per cent were tomato peelers and 3 per cent were can girls; the remainder sorted lima beans, husked corn, packed tomatoes, or sorted, salted, or juiced tomatoes. Of the boys 46 per cent were can boys, 19 per cent were tomato peelers, and the remainder were engaged in various jobs, many of which demanded strength and exertion or were on or in connection with machines. Eleven boys operated power machines.

Delaware exempts children in canneries from the 8-hour-day and 48-hour-week provisions of the State child labor law. All the canneries employing children had some children working more than 8 hours a day. Ninety-six per cent of the children worked more than 8 hours a day, 90 per cent 10 hours or more, 41 per cent 12 hours or more, and 13 per cent 14 hours or more. Migratory child workers had a longer working day than others, 49 per cent, compared with 34 per cent of the local children, working at least 12 hours.

Eighty-eight per cent of 171 children for whom a week's time records were obtained had worked more than 48 hours a week, 53 per cent had worked 60 hours or more, and 22 per cent at least 70 hours.

Delaware exempts canneries from the night-work provision of the child labor law, which prohibits work of children under 16 between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. Of the 71 canneries 52 had employed children under 16 between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.; 58 per cent of the workers under 16, including 64 per cent of the migratory workers and 54 per cent of the others, had worked at night. Two hundred and one of the children were under 14, and 56 were under 12. The number of nights worked was from 1 to 30 or more. Forty-nine per cent of the night workers had worked 6 nights or more, including 58 per cent of the migrants.

Ninety-one per cent of the 195 Baltimore migratory children employed in the Delaware canneries for whom reports were obtained returned home from the canneries three weeks or more, and 55 per cent at least four weeks, after the public schools had opened the year of the survey; 25 per cent had left home at least four weeks before school had closed.

The fall term of the Delaware county schools had opened a week before the first cannery was visited in the State, and only a few children working in the canneries were reported as attending school even part of the day.

Canneries are exempted in Delaware from the employment-certificate provisions of the State child labor law.

INDIANA

INTRODUCTION

In the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables Indiana in 1925 ranked fifth among the States according to the average number of wage earners employed and seventh according to the value of the product.[1] Although not holding as important a place among the industries of the State as it does in States like Maryland and Delaware, the canning industry according to the number of wage earners employed ranks eleventh among the 131 industries listed for Indiana in the 1925 census of manufactures.[2] The number of persons employed in the industry in September, 1925, at the peak of the canning season, was reported as 17,007.[3]

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

The number of canneries in Indiana listed in the Canners' Directory for 1925 was 202.[3a] They were located in 66 of the 92 counties of the State; 27 counties had but 1 cannery each, and 9 counties had less than 3 canneries each. Only 11 counties had 5 or more canneries, and only 2 had more than 10. Although the canneries are thus widely scattered, the industry is concentrated largely in the east central and south central sections of the State, 16 counties in this locality having 58 per cent of the canneries listed for the State.

The Children's Bureau investigation covered 125 canneries in 62 counties, including all the principal canning counties. (Table 18.) It was made in the period August 17–September 29, 1925, and all but 20 establishments were visited in September, the peak month in the canning industry in Indiana.

---

[1] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, p. 22. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[2] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Statistics for Industries, States and Cities, pp. 41–44. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[3] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, p. 8.

[3a] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 57–65. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C.

TABLE 18.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing minors of specified ages, number of persons and number of minors of specified ages employed in canneries in certain counties of Indiana*

County	Canneries visited				Persons employed					
	Total	Employing minors under 18 years		Not employing minors under 18 years	All ages	Under 18 years		Under 16 years		Under 14 years[1]
		Total	Under 16 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total	125	98	66	27	14,275	1,154	8.1	493	3.5	38
Allen	2			2	25					
Bartholomew	3	3	2		244	27	11.1	7	2.9	
Blackford	1	1			105	12	11.4			
Boone	2	2	1		137	7	5.1	1	.7	
Clark	2	2	2		245	49	20.0	26	10.6	2
Carroll	1			1	75					
Cass	1			1	10					
Clay	1	1			125	21	16.8			
Clinton	1			1	105					
Crawford	1	1	1		70	7	10.0	2	2.9	
Daviess	1	1	1		268	6	2.2	1	.4	
Delaware	6	6			397	17	4.3			
Dubois	1	1	1		50	22	44.0	22	44.0	
Elkhart	1			1	5					
Floyd	2	2	2		100	15	15.0	10	10.0	
Fountain	1	1	1		131	13	9.9	1	.8	
Franklin	1	1	1		60	10	16.7	2	3.3	
Gibson	1	1	1		54	7	13.0	7	13.0	
Grant	4	4	3		800	21	2.6	5	.6	
Hamilton	3	3	1		250	11	4.4	2	.8	
Hancock	4	4	3		199	11	5.5	4	2.0	
Harrison	2	2	2		165	28	17.0	10	6.1	1
Hendricks	1	1	1		105	22	21.0	8	7.6	
Henry	4	3	3	1	289	29	10.0	17	5.9	
Howard	1	1	1		400	4	1.0	1	.3	
Jackson	4	4	4		1,165	245	21.0	129	11.1	5
Jay	1	1			180	3	1.7			
Jefferson	4	3	2	1	287	17	5.9	6	2.1	3
Jennings	1	1	1		125	27	21.6	9	7.2	
Johnson	5	5	2		640	37	5.8	7	1.1	1
Knox	1	1	1		300	20	6.7	3	1.0	
Kosciusco	1			1	35					
Lake	1			1	2					
La Porte	1			1	12					
Madison	15	11	7	4	2,011	65	3.2	21	1.0	1
Marion	3	3	2		746	28	3.8	5	.7	
Marshall	1	1			33	3				
Miami	1			1	23					
Montgomery	1			1	85					
Morgan	2	2	1		170	34	20.0	18	10.6	1
Orange	2			2	117					
Perry	1	1	1		100	29	29.0	28	28.0	6
Pike	1	1	1		120	12	10.0	2	1.7	
Posey	1	1	1		100	1	1.0	1	1.0	
Pulaski	1	1	1		25	2	.8	1		
Putnam	1	1	1		80	7	8.8	1	1.3	
Randolph	2	2			170	7	4.1			
Rush	1	1	1		125	14	11.2	6	4.8	
Scott	3	3	3		735	170	23.1	87	11.8	7
Shelby	4	4	3		537	17	3.2	8	1.5	1
Spencer	1	1	1		30	2		2		
Stark	1			1	8					
Steuben	1			1	25					
Sullivan	2	2	2		75	9	12.0	2	2.7	
Tipton	4	4	2		785	26	3.3	11	1.4	7
Vanderburg	1			1	150					
Vermillion	1	1	1		85	25	29.4	6	7.1	1
Vigo	1	1			400	1	.3			
Wabash	3			3	50					
Warrick	1			1	115					
Washington	1	1	1		90	14	15.6	14	15.6	2
White	1			1	125					

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

The total number of employees in the canneries visited by Children's Bureau agents was reported as 14,275, an average of 114 persons per establishment.[4] In 76 (61 per cent of the total number of estab-

[4] The United States Census of Manufactures for 1925, for which statistics were collected only for establishments reporting products of $5,000 and more, gives 124 establishments engaged in the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables and the number of wage earners reported on the 15th (or nearest representative day) of September, 1925, as 17,007, or an average number of 137 wage earners per establishment. The fact that a larger average number of employees was reported for the Census Bureau establishments than those visited by the representatives of the Children's Bureau is due at least in part to the fact that the Federal census statistics in 1925 were collected only from the larger establishments.

lishments visited) less than 100 persons were employed at the time of the visits, and in 32 less than 50. Twenty establishments reported 200 employees or more, 7 of them between 300 and 400, 4 of 400, and 2 more than 500. Almost all the large canneries were in the east central and the south central sections of the State, in the principal canning counties of the State.

Tomatoes are the principal crop canned in Indiana, which ranks fourth among the States in the packing of tomatoes, second in the canning of tomato paste, and first in the canning of tomato pulp and catchup, and produces one-seventh of the tomatoes and tomato products canned in the United States. But Indiana is also among the leading States in the canning of beans, baked beans, corn, hominy, pumpkin, squash, and kraut. Although many canneries put up a variety of products, a considerable number put up only one or two crops, such as tomatoes or tomato products or tomatoes with some other product such as beans or corn. At the time of the Children's Bureau visits, made at the height of the tomato-canning season, 25 establishments were packing only tomatoes, 54 tomatoes and tomato products (that is, pulp, catchup, or chili sauce), and 18 tomato products alone. (Table 19.) Thus, 97 of the 125 canneries visited were working only on tomatoes and tomato products. Fifteen establishments were canning corn, 6 both tomatoes and corn, 1 beans, and 6 other products, such as beets, pickles, or kraut. One of the 6, a large city cannery, was canning tomato pulp and catchup, hominy, kraut, pork and beans, red kidney beans, and chili con carne. In addition to the crop or crops being packed at the time of the survey more than half the canneries for which the information was obtained packed other crops at other seasons.

TABLE 19.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing minors of specified ages, number of persons and number of minors of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Indiana canneries*

Product	Canneries visited				Persons employed				
	Total	Employing minors under 18 years		Not employing minors under 18 years	All ages	Under 18 years		Under 16 years	
		Total	Under 16			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	125	98	66	27	14,275	1,154	8.1	493	3.5
Tomatoes and tomato products	97	79	53	18	10,021	836	8.3	367	3.7
Tomatoes only	25	18	15	7	1,011	145	14.3	79	7.8
Tomato products only	18	11	4	7	2,396	86	3.6	11	.5
Tomatoes and tomato products	54	50	34	4	6,614	605	9.1	277	4.2
Corn	15	11	6	4	2,080	103	5.0	29	1.4
Beans	1	1	1		75	12	16.0	7	9.3
Pickles	2			2	23				
Kraut	1			1	5				
More than one product	9	7	6	2	2,071	203	10.0	90	4.3
Tomatoes, tomato products, and corn	6	5	4	1	1,341	177	13.2	89	6.6
Other	3	2	2	1	730	26	3.6	1	.1

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

The larger canneries had substantial buildings, especially those operating the greater part of the year and putting up a variety of products, such as breakfast foods, hominy, pork and beans, tomato products, and other vegetables. Canneries in operation only during the summer and fall months and canning only tomatoes and some other vegetables could make use of buildings of a lighter and cheaper construction, and some of the small canneries, especially in the southern part of the State, were quite as primitive as any visited in any State during the survey.

The largest cannery visited in Indiana, which employed nearly 600 persons, occupied a modern 7-story factory building of brick and reinforced concrete, but some of the canneries were only old framebarns converted to factory use, or small shedlike structures, new but of flimsy construction. One such frame building, which housed 18 employees, was the size of a 3-car garage; the power for the machines was derived from a small tractor engine outside the building. More typical were plants employing at least 75 workers, which consisted of two or three buildings of frame or brick, one-and-a-half to two stories high.

Usually the buildings, especially those occupied by the larger canneries, were in fair repair. One large cannery that employed more than 300 persons, however, consisted of 10 or 12 connecting frame shacks, which were old and appeared to be dropping apart. Some of the smaller canneries also were of flimsy construction and in a tumble-down condition. The steps and stairs leading to the lofts and upper stories were on the whole fairly adequate; two had only ladders leading up to the can loft or cooking room, although the law requires hand rails on stairways.[5]

The grounds about some of the larger canneries were well kept, dry, and free from odor. It was not uncommon, however, to find the cannery yards wet or muddy or cluttered with old crates, baskets, and heaps of refuse, corn husks or tomato waste. The grounds of one cannery, for example, were soggy and moldy about a pool formed by the dripping of tomato juice and water from an overflowing wooden bin into which the waste had been dumped; in another yard where the water was standing in open drains and soaking into the ground was a heap of decaying tomato waste not far from the peeling shed, an attraction for flies and the source of disagreeable stench.

Many of the larger establishments canning tomato products and corn had installed modern equipment, but the small canneries, especially those canning nothing but tomatoes or tomatoes and string beans, generally had only the crudest kind of machinery, tables, and other equipment. Nearly all those employing as many as 75 persons used automatic conveyors for at least part of the work of carrying the product from one operation to another; 24, a number of which canned corn or catchup, operations that require a good deal of machinery, had eliminated hand carrying entirely and used automatic conveyors throughout the plants. Modern machinery for filling, capping, and labeling bottles had been introduced into the large canneries bottling catchup and chili sauce. In 19 canneries, many of which were small, men or boys did all the carrying by

[5] Ind., Burns' Annotated Stat., 1914, sec. 8031.

hand, usually in enamel pails or wooden buckets, but occasionally in open mesh pails, through which juice and water might drop to the floor.

Modern conveyor work tables, moving belts with stationary edges, and special contrivances to hold dishpans or other receptacles into which the tomatoes were peeled were used in 61 of the 79 plants canning tomatoes when the visits were made. Usually these conveyor tables extended along the length of the workroom; the rotary form of conveyor table, known as the merry-go-round, frequently seen in Maryland and Delaware tomato canneries, was not common in canneries in Indiana. The 11 plants visited canning corn only used modern conveyors, but in 2 of these having no machinery for corn husking no tables of any kind were provided for hand workers. They sat on piles of corn ears or on boxes, threw the shucks on the floor and the husked ears into washtubs or baskets, which were placed on the floor before them. Fifteen canneries, most of which were relatively small, were equipped only with old-fashioned stationary tables.

The floors in the majority of the canneries visited were wet, although some attention had been paid to floor construction. In the main workrooms of all but very small canneries the floors were generally concrete and sloped to gutters into which waste and water was drained. The second floors of cannery buildings were usually of wood. Eight canneries, 5 of which employed less than 50 persons, had no floor drains. In spite of provisions for drainage, however, the floors of 68 of the 98 canneries employing minors under 18 were wet or damp at the time of the visits. That modern floor construction and adequate drainage can overcome the wet floors common to canneries is shown by the fact that in the two largest canneries, both visited in the afternoon after they had been in operation some hours, the floors were dry. Dry floors were also found in 13 other canneries visited after 10 o'clock in the morning and also in a number of those seen earlier in the day. Most of these establishments were canning tomatoes.

In corn canneries the cutting room was wet from the milk from the corn kernels; in tomato canneries drippings from the tomatoes accumulated under the peeling and sorting tables and near the filling and pulping machines, places where many of the children and young persons worked. Tomato juice and skins which dropped from the end of the conveyor or from the edges of the table or which peelers allowed to fall on the floor instead of into the pails or on the conveyor which carried out the waste, caused the floors of some canneries to be sloppy as well as wet. In one cannery the floor near the finishing machine was described by the bureau investigator as covered with "thick red matter very slippery to walk on"; in another it was impossible to "move without stepping on parts of discarded tomatoes." During the interview with the investigator a forewoman in a corn cannery slipped and fell on the floor of the cutting room, but although her light dress was covered with muddy water her only comment was "we get used to that."

The majority of the canneries in which the floors were wet provided sorters and peelers with boards, planks, or raised platforms to stand upon. One cannery not only had platforms but also provided the girls with galoshes; another had erected a platform 2 feet high for its

sorters. Twelve canneries in which the floors were wet furnished no stands of any kind and others furnished stands that were inadequate to keep the workers' feet dry; in one cannery, for example, where boards were laid on the floors, water was over the workers' shoe soles.

The State child labor law of Indiana prohibits the employment of any girl under 18 in any capacity where such employment compels her to remain standing constantly.[6] Seats for at least some of the women workers—stools, benches, crates, boxes, and occasionally especially constructed metal chairs with backs or with foot rests—were provided in 86 of the 98 canneries visited in which minors under 18 were employed. One cannery provided seats only for tomato corers, who were men; 12 canneries had no seats at all. Seats in many of the canneries were not used by the women while they were working. In some places the seats for the sorters and peelers were too low or too high for the conveyor tables; in others the room was so crowded that sitting was impossible. A considerable number of the girls under 18 who were employed at the time of the visits were standing at their work.

Toilet facilities were provided in all but 2 of the 98 canneries. Except in five small canneries such facilities were separate for each sex as required by the State law.[7] Many canneries were located in rural communities that had no town water supply and outside privies were provided, but 47 of the 98 had flush toilets. Washing facilities varied from old-fashioned wash troughs or sinks to modern wash bowls and basins with running water, paper towels, and liquid soap.

Unusual features for the convenience of the employees were found in some of the more modern canneries. One small cannery had supplied a restroom equipped with tables and benches where the workers could eat their lunches. A city cannery, besides providing a cloakroom with small compartments where each worker could hang wraps and the white caps and aprons worn at work, had a restroom, a cafeteria, a store for selling cannery products at a discount, and a well-equipped first-aid room with a trained nurse in attendance.[7a]

THE LABOR SUPPLY

The cannery workers in Indiana are mainly residents of the towns or villages in which the cannery is located or of the surrounding country. One cannery visited maintained a dormitory for from 16 to 20 men and another ran a dormitory for girls. It was not the practice, as in Delaware, Maryland, and New York, to import negro or foreign-born migratory labor. A few negro local workers were employed in the canneries visited, but most of the workers were white.

It was reported that labor was hard to get in some sections. A corn cannery advertised for workers by means of posters appealing to "the loyalty of the citizens to save the corn." Some canneries offered especial inducements to encourage piece workers to work full time. One cannery paid all peelers who worked a whole day without losing time a bonus of 50 cents a day; another paid 5½ cents instead of 5 cents for a bucket of peeled tomatoes to all who worked as much as 90 per cent of the time. One large firm which had factories in six

[6] Ind., Acts of 1921, ch. 132, sec. 23. The State law also requires that employers furnish "suitable" seats for the use of each female employee (Burns' Annotated Stat., 1914, secs. 2628, 8030).
[7] Ind., Burns' Annotated Stat., 1914, sec. 8030.
[7a] See also Report of the Industrial Board of the State of Indiana for the year ending September 30, 1922, pp. 49, 50, 58.

different places sent out posters promising all peelers who worked in any one of the six canneries $1.50 a week extra if they lost no time, $1 a week extra if they lost not more than half a day, and 50 cents extra if they lost not more than one day in the week. For the convenience of workers who lived too far from the cannery to go home to dinner without losing time, two canneries provided hot lunches of meat and vegetables at a cost of from 10 to 20 cents; one of these gave coffee free to employees who brought their lunches.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

The present Indiana child labor law, enacted in 1921,[8] ranks in many respects among the best child labor laws in the country and affords the same protection to child workers in canneries as to children engaged in other industrial employments.[9] The minimum age for employment in canneries for both boys and girls is 14 years. Boys under 16 and girls under 18 may not work more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours a week, or 6 days a week or between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. A child between 14 and 18 years of age must obtain an employment certificate from the superintendent of schools before going to work, and the law requires[10] that this certificate is to be issued only to a child "whose employment is necessary," so that the issuing officer has discretionary power to refuse to grant it if no economic need exists for the child's work. The child must also be in sound health and of normal physical and mental development, as shown by an examination by a public-health or public-school physician,[11] and if he is to work during school hours he must have completed the eighth grade.

The child labor law contains, moreover, the administrative provisions generally held most necessary for effective enforcement. The evidence of age that must be presented is the same as that required under the former Federal child labor laws; the child must bring a promise of employment from his prospective employer, and the certificate is valid only for the employer to whom it is issued, who must notify the issuing officer immediately when the child leaves.

Under the law all these provisions except the requirement that the child shall have completed the eighth grade apply both to work done during school hours and to work done in vacation and outside school hours; and they are all equally applicable to certificates issued to minors under 16 and to those between 16 and 18. The regulations for issuing officers, however, adopted jointly by the State industrial board and the State board of attendance,[12] which have the force of law, make important distinctions between certificates issued to these different groups. For certificates issued to children under 16 for work during school hours, thus releasing them from school attendance, the regulations follow strictly all the requirements

[8] Ind., Acts of 1921, ch. 132.

[9] The previous law, enacted in 1911, fixed a minimum age of 14 for work in factories and in most other employments but permitted children 12 years of age and over to work "in the business of preserving and canning fruits and vegetables" between June 1 and October 1. The employment-certificate provisions in effect before 1921 were first enacted in 1913, applied only to work during school hours, and were much less stringent than under the 1921 law.

[10] For regulations in some respects modifying these requirements, see below.

[11] The law exempts from this requirement, on written objection of parent, a child who, upon the parent's objection, had been exempted previously from the requirement of school physical examinations.

[12] The law states that "employment certificates shall be issued under" such rules and regulations as are adopted by these boards, which are "not inconsistent with" the law, and which will promote uniformity and efficiency in its administration. The blank forms to be used in issuing certificates, which accord with the regulations adopted, are formulated and furnished to issuing officers by the industrial board.

(See p. 81.)

of the law; for certificates issued to 14 and 15 year old children to work outside school hours and during school vacation, and to 16 and 17 year old children to work at any time, the child need present only proof that he is of legal age for employment. He is not required to show economic necessity or physical fitness, or to bring a promise of employment, nor is he required to have completed any specified grade. Moreover, only in case of children under 16 receiving certificates for work during school hours does the issuing officer retain any supervision over the child's employment through the fact that the certificate is issued to one employer only, who must return it when the child leaves. Vacation certificates and certificates issued to minors between 16 and 18 permit a child to work wherever he can find a job.

For the protection of employers of minors claiming to be over 18 years of age but in fact under that age, the law requires issuing officers, upon request of employers, to issue certificates to minors between 18 and 21. These certificates of age are in exactly the same form as the certificates issued to minors between 16 and 18, and the same evidence of age is required.

Work on specified machines and in specified processes is prohibited for children under 16 and for those under 18 years of age, and a general prohibition of employment in "any other occupation dangerous to life or limb or injurious to health or morals" of minors under 18 is added. But the occupations named are not those in which minors under 18 were working in the canneries visited, and at the time of the study no cannery occupations had been classified by the State industrial board as coming under the general prohibition. A clause in the dangerous occupations law that would apply to certain kinds of cannery work, however, is the prohibition of the employment of any girl under 18 in any capacity where such employment compels her to remain standing constantly.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

AGES OF CHILDREN AND VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

Children under 16 were found at work in 66 of the 125 canneries visited, and 32 others employed minors between 16 and 18, who, as explained above, are subject to certain provisions of the child labor law. (Tables 18 and 19.) The 27 canneries employing no minors under 18 were for the most part rather small establishments; 15 of them had less than 50 employees, 11 less than 25.

Even where children were employed the management often stated that minors were not employed when adults could be hired, as employees who could work as many hours as needed[13] were preferred and employment certificates were a nuisance. One manager said that his company, which operated five canneries in Indiana, had made it a policy not to employ minors of certificate age in any of its plants because it considered them not "worth the bother they caused." In many other canneries the management stated that it was contrary to the policy of the firm to employ them, but minors under 18 were found at work. In some cases their employment

[13] Indiana has no law regulating the maximum hours of adult women in canneries. However, their employment at night is prohibited between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. in manufacturing establishments (interpreted to include canneries).

had been occasioned by inability to find adults for the work, but in others employers were unaware that workers under 18 had been hired, apparently because of lack of care in investigating the ages of applicants on the part of those hiring them. In one cannery, the manager of which stated that he had no minors under 18 in his employ and that he would employ none, 14 young persons were interviewed, of whom 4 reported their ages as 17 years and 2 as 16. This cannery employed five girls between 16 and 18 without certificates, although the State law requires certificates for all minors up to 18 years of age.

Minors under 18 found at work in all the canneries visited numbered 1,154, 8 per cent of the total workers. Of these, 493 (4 per cent of the total workers) were under 16. The working children under 16 were employed in 38 of the 62 counties in which canneries were visited, but they were found most generally in the southern counties. Three hundred and forty-three (70 per cent) were at work in 11 counties [14] in the southern section, although this section gave employment to only 22 per cent of the total number of persons reported as working in the canneries. On the other hand, 11 counties [15] in the east central section of the State, which reported 6,092 (43 per cent) of the workers in the Indiana canneries, gave employment to only 86 (17 per cent) of the children under 16 found at work in the State.

Girls constituted 67 per cent of the workers under 16 and 64 per cent of those between 16 and 18 years, although women were only 50 per cent of all the cannery workers.

Approximately three-fourths (74 per cent) of the children under 16, and 71 per cent of those between 16 and 18, were employed in canneries working exclusively on tomatoes or tomato products at the time of the visits, and a number of others were working on processes connected with the canning of tomatoes in canneries that were also canning corn or other crops. (Table 19.) Their employment was most common in establishments packing nothing but tomatoes. Minors under 16 were 8 per cent of the total number of employees in such establishments and 4 per cent of those in plants which in addition put up pulp, catchup, or other tomato products. In canneries putting up only corn or tomato products, in the canning of which mechanical methods are very generally used, children under 16 constituted but 1 per cent of the total working force.

Thirty-eight children (including 29 girls) who were below the legal age for employment were found at work in 17 canneries. (Table 18.) The majority of the canneries employing children under legal working age were in the south central part of the State; 26 of the 38 children under 14 were employed in seven of the southernmost of these counties. Twenty-seven of these underage children were 13 years old, 7 were 12, 3 (including 2 girls) were 11, and 1, a girl, was 9.

Violations of the age requirement appeared to have been chiefly the result of carelessness on the part of those who hired the workers in employing children without certificates or without even attempting to ascertain their true ages. In some cases difficulty in obtaining

[14] Clark, Crawford, Dubois, Floyd, Harrison, Jackson, Jefferson, Jennings, Perry, Scott, and Washington.
[15] Delaware, Grant, Hamilton, Hancock, Henry, Johnson, Madison, Marion, Rush, Shelby, and Tipton.

employment certificates in the locality in which the cannery was located was reported. (See p. 76.)

In a few cases there was evidence that young children had left or had been sent out of the canneries on the approach of the bureau agents. In one cannery the manager, on sight of the agents, entered the shed and was seen checking out all the peelers until the peeling table was empty although it was not yet 11.30 a. m. He volunteered the information that he did not know much about his peelers—girls would slip in, get a bucket, and start peeling. In another cannery, which employed a considerable number of children, including six under legal working age, a number of the younger children came into the office where the bureau agent was copying time records and asked for their pay saying they had been discharged. In a cannery in which no certificate or proof of age had been required for any of the minors employed the agent was told that a number of girls had gone home as soon as they had heard inspectors were in the plant, as they had misrepresented their ages as 16 and were afraid it would be discovered.

No doubt a larger number of children under the legal working age would have been found had the canneries been visited at the bean season as several reported that they had employed large numbers of children to snip beans. (See p. 67.)

KINDS OF WORK

The largest number of minors were at work at the time of the visits on tomato peeling. (Table 20.) This work gave employment to 275 (56 per cent) of the children under 16, including 274 (83 per cent) of the girls, and 281 (51 per cent) of those between 16 and 18, including 278 (66 per cent) of the girls of these ages. Only 4 boys were tomato peelers.

TABLE 20.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Indiana canneries*

Product and process, and sex of minors	Minors under 18 years employed						
	Total		16 years, under 18		14 years, under 16		Under 14 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	1,154		661		455		38
Total reported	1,040	100.0	553	100.0	449	100.0	38
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	656	63.1	343	62.0	288	64.1	25
Peeling	556	53.5	281	50.8	251	55.9	24
Sorting or trimming	58	5.6	36	6.5	22	4.9	
Carrying tomatoes	22	2.1	12	2.2	10	2.2	
Packing	11	1.1	8	1.4	3	.7	
Other	9	.9	6	1.1	2	.4	1
Corn	85	8.2	44	8.0	36	8.0	5
Sorting or trimming	46	4.4	20	3.6	21	4.7	5
Husking	19	1.8	13	2.4	6	1.3	
Bin boys	7	.7	4	.7	3	.7	
Other	13	1.2	7	1.3	6	1.3	

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 20.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Indiana canneries*—Con.

Product and process and sex of minors	Minors under 18 years employed						
	Total		16 years, under 18		14 years, under 16		Under 14 years
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total reported—Continued.							
Special processes—Continued.							
Beans	12	1.2	5	0.9	7	1.6	
Snipping	11	1.1	5	.9	6	1.3	
Other	1	(2)			1	.2	
Other products	2	(2)	2	.4			
General occupations	285	27.4	159	28.8	118	26.3	8
Can boys and girls	55	5.3	18	3.3	36	8.0	1
Piling filled cans in crates	54	5.2	32	5.8	20	4.5	2
Packing, piling, stacking	39	3.8	21	3.8	17	3.8	1
Trucking and carrying	18	1.7	11	2.0	7	1.6	
Other	119	11.4	77	13.9	38	8.5	4
Not reported	114		108		6		
Boys	402		241		152		9
Total reported	318	100.0	163	100.0	146	100.0	9
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	52	16.4	28	17.2	23	15.8	1
Peeling	4	1.3	3	1.8	1	.7	
Sorting or trimming	15	4.7	7	4.3	8	5.5	
Carrying tomatoes	22	6.9	12	7.4	10	6.8	
Packing	2	.6			2	1.4	
Other	9	2.8	6	3.7	2	1.4	1
Corn	37	11.6	16	9.8	20	13.7	1
Sorting or trimming	12	3.8			11	7.5	1
Husking	10	3.1	6	3.7	4	2.7	
Bin boys	7	2.2	4	2.5	3	2.1	
Other	8	2.5	6	3.7	2	1.4	
Beans	1	.3			1	.7	
General occupations	228	71.7	119	73.0	102	69.9	7
Can boys	44	13.8	10	6.1	34	23.3	
Piling filled cans in crates	52	16.4	31	19.0	19	13.0	2
Packing, piling, stacking	30	9.4	17	10.4	112	8.2	1
Trucking and carrying	17	5.3	10	6.1	7	4.8	
Other	85	26.7	51	31.3	30	29.5	4
Not reported	84		78		6		
Girls	752		420		303		29
Total reported	722	100.0	390	100.0	303	100.0	29
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	604	83.7	315	80.8	265	87.5	24
Peeling	552	76.5	278	71.3	250	82.5	24
Sorting or trimming	43	6.0	29	7.4	14	4.6	
Packing	9	1.2	8	2.1	1	.3	
Corn	48	6.6	28	7.2	16	5.3	4
Sorting or trimming	34	4.7	20	5.1	10	3.3	4
Husking	9	1.2	7	1.8	2	.7	
Other	5	.7	1	.3	4	1.3	
Beans: Snipping	11	1.5	5	1.3	6	2.0	
Other products	2	.3	2	.5			
General occupations	57	7.9	40	10.3	16	5.3	1
Can girls	11	1.5	8	2.1	2	.7	1
Piling filled cans in crates	2	.3	1	.3	1	.3	
Packing, piling, stacking	9	1.2	4	1.0	5	1.7	
Trucking and carrying	1	.1	1	.3			
Other	34	4.7	26	6.7	8	2.6	
Not reported	30		30				

[2] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Only 58 girls under 16 did any other kind of work. These were usually employed in connection with the preparation of vegetables; 15 trimmed, sorted, or packed tomatoes, 18 sorted, trimmed, or husked corn, and 6 snipped beans. Seventeen were employed in general or miscellaneous occupations; 3 were can girls, 5 piled and stacked cans, and 6 were engaged in handling bottles, capping, washing, polishing, or inspecting labels. Two girls only, both 15 years of age, operated machines, one a corn-cutting, the other a labeling machine, but some of the others worked at moving conveyors, including about half the tomato peelers, all who sorted or trimmed corn, 14 who sorted or trimmed tomatoes, and 6 who were engaged in handling bottles. The finger of one 15-year-old girl who capped and wiped bottles had been injured by a bottle cap and as a result her whole arm had become infected. One girl aged 15 was engaged in an occupation usually filled by men or boys—that is, taking off cans from a closing machine and piling them in crates.

Of the 29 girls under 14, 24 (including a girl of 11 and 1 of 9) were peelers, of whom 10 worked at a moving conveyor table; 1 (12 years of age) was a can girl; and 2 of 12, and 2 of 13 were inspecting, sorting, or trimming corn on the conveyor. Of the 9 boys under 14, 1 (11 years of age) was stationed at the end of a moving belt piling filled cans in crates, a job which requires speed and is physically taxing; another 11-year-old boy was husking corn by hand, a comparatively simple task; a boy of 12 and 1 of 13 were working at a moving belt, 1 guiding cans to the filling machine, the other trimming corn. The remaining 5, all of whom were 12 or 13, were engaged in various kinds of general work, such as piling or stacking filled cans or making boxes.

Girls between 16 and 18 had somewhat more varied work than younger girls. Relatively more of them were employed at operations connected with the packing of tomato products, in whch more machinery and little hand peeling is necessary. Besides the 278 who were tomato peelers, 37 trimmed, sorted, or packed tomatoes, 20 sorted or trimmed corn (at moving belts), and 13 (also usually at moving belts) washed, polished, or capped bottles or straightened labels on bottles in canneries putting up catchup or chili sauce, 2 husked or cut corn by machine, 8 were can girls, and the remainder were employed in miscellaneous jobs such as labeling, stenciling, packing, and stacking cans.

The majority of the 161 boys under 16—109 (68 per cent)—did miscellaneous or general work about the plants. (Table 20.) Only 23 boys were tomato peelers, sorters, or packers or were corn sorters or trimmers, occupations usually filled by girls and women; 10 carried pails of tomatoes. Thirty-four were can boys, though this occupation was less common among cannery boys in Indiana than in Delaware or Maryland. Twenty-one took the cans from closing machines and piled them in crates; 13 packed, piled, and stacked filled cans, 6 did trucking, 7 made or labeled boxes, and 6 inspected or put salt into cans. Others lifted and stacked boxes, cleaned up floors, carried water, and did other odd jobs in the cannery or cannery yard. Only 7 boys operated machines.

Boys between 16 and 18 years were employed in much the same kinds of work as the younger ones, but relatively more did heavy work, such as carrying, trucking, piling, and stacking cans and other

general work, or operated machines or worked in connection with machinery. Of the 163 whose occupations were reported, 24 operated machines and 33 took cans from the closing machines and piled them in crates or "took off" from other machines.

From information given representatives of the bureau at several canneries it seems probable that a larger number of children would have been found at work had the visits been made at the height of the bean-canning season. The owner of one cannery, in which no minors under 18 were employed at the time of the bureau's inquiry (when the only work under way was putting up tomato purée), stated that during June and July when string beans were being canned he had employed on an average 125 children a day, most of them girls, to snip beans in the sheds outside the cannery, which have been considered by the industrial board as part of the cannery and subject to the provisions of the child labor law. He said that he had not asked these children their ages nor required that they have certificates. The manager of another cannery said that during the bean season he had had about 50 "students" at work stringing beans; none had had certificates, but each had brought a written statement from his parents that they were willing to have the child work in the cannery.

HOURS OF WORK

Although the Indiana labor law does not compel employers to keep records of the hours worked by employees who are subject to the hour regulations of the women and child labor laws, satisfactory [16] time records were kept, at least for such workers as were paid on an hourly or a weekly basis, in 48 of the 98 establishments in which minors under 18 were employed. In addition, some other sort of record of hours was kept for the time workers in 32 other canneries, consisting in most cases of a record of the total number of hours worked by these employees during each day, but not showing the hours of beginning and of ending work or the time off for lunch. In a very few cases time records of some kind were found for pieceworkers, but in the majority of cases information as to the hours worked by children under 16 who were engaged in piecework was furnished by parents of the children, adult witnesses, or employers.

Daily hours.

The hour regulations of the Indiana child labor law apply to girls up to 18 years of age and to boys up to 16 years. Information as to daily hours of work was obtained, however, for both boys and girls up to 18 years. Of the 1,002 minors under 18 interviewed at work for whom daily hours were reported, 436 (44 per cent) were boys under 16 or girls under 18 who were employed more than 8 hours a day in violation of the provision of the State child labor law. (Table 21.) An even higher proportion (75 per cent) of violations was found among boys and girls under 16, all of whom are affected by the 8 hour law. Boys were employed longer hours than girls, both in the group between 16 and 18 years of age, among whom 97 per cent of the boys and 82 per cent of the girls reported more than an 8-hour day, and in the group under 16, among whom 87 per cent of the boys and 69 per cent of the girls worked longer hours than the law allowed, although the law applies to children of both sexes under 16.

[16] Satisfactory time records for the purpose of this study are records which showed for every employee the hours of beginning and ending work and the time off for lunch each day.

TABLE 21.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Indiana canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of minors	Minors under 18 years employed						
	Total		16 years, under 18		Under 16 years		Under 14 years [1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	1,154		661		493		38
Total reported	1,002	100.0	529	100.0	473	100.0	27
8 hours and under	189	18.9	70	13.2	119	25.2	8
Over 8 hours	813	81.1	459	86.8	354	74.8	19
10 hours and over	490	48.9	271	51.2	219	46.3	12
12 hours and over	152	15.2	91	17.2	61	12.9	2
14 hours and over	54	5.4	35	6.6	19	4.0	1
16 hours and over	10	1.0	8	1.5	2	.4	
Irregular	3				3		3
Not reported	149		132		17		8
Boys	402		241		161		9
Total reported	316	100.0	162	100.0	154	100.0	4
8 hours and under	25	7.9	5	3.1	20	13.0	2
Over 8 hours	291	92.1	157	96.9	134	87.0	2
10 hours and over	213	67.4	113	69.8	100	64.9	
12 hours and over	96	30.4	55	34.0	41	26.6	
14 hours and over	37	11.7	22	13.6	15	9.7	
16 hours and over	10	3.2	8	4.9	2	1.3	
Irregular	1				1		1
Not reported	85		79		6		4
Girls	752		420		332		29
Total reported	686	100.0	367	100.0	319	100.0	23
8 hours and under	164	23.9	65	17.7	99	31.0	6
Over 8 hours	522	76.1	302	82.3	220	69.0	17
10 hours and over	277	40.4	158	43.1	119	37.3	12
12 hours and over	56	8.2	36	9.8	20	6.3	2
14 hours and over	17	2.5	13	3.5	4	1.3	1
Irregular	2				2		2
Not reported	64		53		11		4

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

Violations of the 8 hour law were found in every county in which minors under 18 were found employed in the canneries and in 82 of the 98 canneries employing minors of the age to which the law applied. They were more numerous in the southern counties, however, where in the 11 counties referred to on page 63, 65 per cent of the children under 18 and 80 per cent of those under 16 were employed in violation of the 8 hour law, as contrasted with 42 per cent of the minors under 18 and 48 per cent of those under 16 employed in the 11 counties in the east central part of the State (see p. 63), where the canning industry is chiefly concentrated.

Even in canneries in which a serious effort appeared to be made to keep minors from working longer than the legal hours some violations were found. Some of the older women workers in one such cannery remarked that although the superintendent was constantly on the lookout to see that girls under 18 did not work more than eight hours and they were constantly being reminded that they should not do so, some

girls would stay even against orders. In many canneries, however, the management appeared to give the matter of hours but little consideration, and in most places, especially when the work was rushed, little or no attempt was made to prevent minors subject to legal restrictions on hours from working the same hours as others in the plant. That the law prescribed an 8-hour day for minors seemed to be generally known. In one cannery which had been visited shortly before the Children's Bureau survey by a State inspector the younger boys when questioned as to their hours of work said they "quit at 4 p. m., beginning yesterday," a statement borne out by the time records. The State inspector's visit appeared to have effected no change for the better in the working hours of the young girls employed in the corn shed of this cannery.

Working hours differed considerably in different canneries and varied from day to day and from week to week. At least half the canneries reported their usual running time as 10 hours or longer. Almost half (46 per cent) of the children under 16 had worked 10 hours or more, 13 per cent had worked 12 hours or more, and 4 per cent had worked at least 14 hours. According to the time records one boy had worked 18¾ hours; another had worked 24 hours one day, 5 the next, and 19 the next. Boys were apt to work longer hours than girls; 37 per cent of the girls as compared with 65 per cent of the boys had had a working day of 10 hours or more and 1 per cent of the girls as compared with 10 per cent of the boys had worked at least 14 hours. Minors of 16 and 17 years of age had somewhat longer working days than younger children; 51 per cent had worked 10 hours more, 17 per cent 12 hours or more, and 7 per cent at least 14 hours. Although the longest hours were reported for the boys of 16 and 17, whose hours of work are not regulated, many of the girls of these ages had had a working day of 10 or 12 hours, or in some cases even longer.

Boys and girls who did general work about the canneries had the longest working hours, as a rule. These included can boys and girls, those who did trucking, packing, and stacking cans or worked on or in connection with machinery or "on the line," all occupations that are paid for on a time basis. Tomato peelers, who are piece-workers, did not work as long hours. Sixty-five per cent of the boys and girls under 16 who did general work and whose hours were reported had been employed 10 or more hours, compared with 30 per cent of the tomato peelers under 16, and 30 per cent of the former as compared with only 2 per cent of the latter had worked at least 12 hours. Among boys and girls between 16 and 18, also, general workers had longer hours than tomato peelers. The hours of work were especially long in canneries which at the time of the visits were packing corn only; all but 6 of 97 boys and girls under 18 in corn canneries had worked more than 8 hours, including 33 of 37 girls under 18 years of age and 19 of 20 boys under 16 years of age, all in violation of the labor law. Thirty-two, including 8 girls, of the 97 boys and girls who had worked more than 8 hours had worked 14 hours or more.

Weekly hours.

Information regarding weekly hours of work based on time records was available for 58 of the 493 children under 16, and for 62 of the 661 minors 16 and 17 years old, including 73 boys and 47 girls in both age groups. (Table 22.) These minors were employed in

26 of the canneries visited. The canneries included 5 of the 11 packing corn only, so that the hours of 27 per cent of the minors under 18 working in corn canneries but only 9 per cent of those in tomato and other canneries was reported.

TABLE 22.—*Maximum number of hours of work in a typical week of boys and girls of specified ages employed in Indiana canneries*

Maximum number of hours of work in a typical week and sex of minors	Minors under 18 years employed						
	Total		16 years, under 18		Under 16 years		Under 14 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution[1]	Number	Per cent distribution[1]	Number	Per cent distribution[1]	
Total	1,154		661		493		38
Total reported	120	100.0	62	100.0	58	100.0	2
48 hours and under	18	5.0	14	2.6	4	6.9	1
Over 48 hours	102	85.0	48	7.4	54	93.1	1
60 hours and over	48	40.0	27	43.5	21	36.2	
70 hours and over	13	10.8	10	16.1	3	5.2	
80 hours and over	4	3.3	4	6.5			
90 hours and over	2	1.7	2	3.2			
Not reported	1,034		599		435		36
Boys	402		241		161		9
Total reported	73	100.0	30		43		1
48 hours and under	6	8.2	2		4		1
Over 48 hours	67	91.8	28		39		
60 hours and over	29	39.7	13		16		
70 hours and over	6	8.2	4		2		
80 hours and over	3	4.1	3				
90 hours and over	1	1.4	1				
Not reported	329		211		118		8
Girls	752		420		332		29
Total reported	47		32		15		1
48 hours and under	12		12				
Over 48 hours	35		20		15		1
60 hours and over	19		14		5		
70 hours and over	7		6		1		
90 hours and over	1		1				
Not reported	705		388		317		28

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The children under 18 for whom information as to weekly hours was available represented those who, on the whole, had worked the longest hours. For example, almost half worked 12 hours or more a day as compared with 13 per cent of the total number of workers of the same age group for whom daily hours were reported. Moreover, 61 per cent were boys as compared with 35 per cent of the total, and, as has been shown, the working hours of boys were longer than those of girls. Further, reports on weekly hours were obtained largely for workers on a time basis, whose hours were longer than those working at piece rates; reports were obtained for 24 per cent of those engaged in general work, such as "rolling cans," piling cans in crates, piling and stacking cans and other miscellaneous work, all of which was paid for on a time basis, whereas the weekly hours of tomato peelers, who were pieceworkers, were reported in only

two instances, although peelers formed the majority of minors under 18 employed in the canneries.

It should be borne in mind in considering the following figures, therefore, that the group was not really representative of the cannery children as a whole. Of the 120 minors under 18 years of age for whom weekly hours were reported, 102 (85 per cent) had worked more than 48 hours, including 54 of the 58 children under 16 and 20 of the 32 girls between 16 and 18, whose work is prohibited by law for more than 48 hours in any one week. Twenty-one of the children under 16, including 5 girls, had worked 60 hours or more and 2 boys of 14 and 15 years old and one girl of 15 had worked a week of 73 and 74 hours in a corn cannery. Of the 32 girls between 16 and 18, 14 had worked 60 hours or more, 4 girls had worked between 70 and 80 hours, and 2 boys had worked 84 and 95½ hours, respectively, in a tomato cannery, one taking off tomatoes from the scalding machine and the other stacking filled cans.

Night work.

Work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. is prohibited in Indiana canneries for children of both sexes under 16 and for girls under 18 years of age. But 42 per cent of the children under 16 years of age (including 53 per cent of the boys and 37 per cent of the girls) and 25 per cent of the girls between 16 and 18 were employed during the prohibited hours. These included 18 children under 14, of whom 13 were girls, and 37 per cent of the 14-year-old children. (Table 23.) Children under 16 in 34 canneries, and girls between 16 and 18 in 28 establishments, were found to have worked at night. The canneries in which these violations were found were located in 30 of the 45 counties in which canneries employed minors under 18. Unlike the violations of the 8 hour law, violations of the night-work provisions were found to be somewhat more prevalent in the canneries of the east central counties, the principal canning area of the State. In the canneries in 11 counties (see footnote 15, p. 63) in this section 48 per cent of the children under 16 had been employed after 7 p. m. or before 6 a. m., whereas in 11 southern counties (see footnote 14, p. 63), in which the largest proportion of children and also of those employed in violation of the 8 hour law were found at work (see p.68), 42 per cent of the children had been employed between these hours.

TABLE 23.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in Indiana canneries*

Age	Boys and girls under 18 years employed								
	Total			Boys			Girls		
	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	
		Number	Per cent [1]		Number [2]	Per cent [1]		Number [3]	Per cent [1]
Total	1,154	380	32.9	402	153	38.1	752	227	30.2
Under 14 years	38	18	-------	9	5	-------	29	13	-------
14 years	175	65	37.1	53	20	37.7	122	45	36.9
15 years	280	124	44.3	99	60	60.6	181	64	35.4
16 years	329	91	27.7	121	37	30.6	208	54	26.0
17 years	332	82	24.7	120	31	25.8	212	51	24.1

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.
[2] Includes 1 boy of 11 years, 2 of 12 years, and 2 of 13 years.
[3] Includes 1 girl of 11 years, 1 of 12 years, and 11 of 13 years.

Eighteen of the 38 children under 14 found at work, 13 of whom were girls, were employed at night; 2 boys and a girl in this group were 12, and 1 girl and 1 boy were 11 years of age.

In canneries packing only corn relatively more minors had worked at night than in canneries packing other products; 79 of 103 minors under 18 in corn canneries, including huskers, cutters, sorters, trimmers, and bin boys, as well as those engaged in general or miscellaneous occupations, were night workers. Among these 79 were 27 girls under 18 and 17 boys under 16 years of age. In canneries packing tomatoes and other products than corn, night-work violations were most prevalent among minors under 18 engaged in general or miscellaneous occupations and among those sorting and trimming tomatoes; tomato peelers had worked in violation of the law less frequently.

Most of the children who reported the number of nights they had been employed had worked only a few nights during the canning season of 1925, prior to the date of interview; only 7 per cent of them said that they had worked as many as 6 nights in the season, and no child under 16 said he had worked more than 8 nights.

With the exception of one can boy of 15 who worked part of the season throughout the night on the regular night shift (from 6.30 p. m. to 6.30 a. m.), and 2 boys, one of 16 and one of 17, who also had worked on a night shift several times, almost all the minors who had been employed between the prohibited hours had worked in the evenings. The great majority of those for whom information as to the number of hours worked at night was obtained—85 per cent of the minors under 16 and 75 per cent of those between 16 and 18—had worked between 2 and 4 hours. The times most frequently reported were from 6.30 or 7 to 9, 9.30, or 10 at night. However, 19 children under 16 (of whom 6 were girls), including 5 under 14 (of whom 2 were girls), reported that they had worked until 11 p. m. or later. One of these, a boy, had piled cans in crates till 12 or 1 a. m. several mornings. A girl of 15 had worked "a good many nights" feeding bottles to the filler from 7 to 11, 12, or 1 a. m., and the time records of the cannery in which she worked showed that during the week previous to the interview she had worked a maximum day of 15½ hours and a week of 64 hours. In addition to the children under 16, 20 minors between 16 and 18 had worked in the evening until 11 p. m. or later, 13 of them girls for whom employment at night was illegal. Among the 20 were 3 girls and 1 boy who had worked after 1 a. m. The occupations of those working late hours were varied and included sorting and trimming corn, packing bottles, work on labeling and corn mixing machines, and piling cans in crates.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Cannery work in Indiana appeared to interfere little with school attendance. Few children of compulsory school ages, that is, few children under 14 and few of 14 and 15 years of age who had not completed the eighth grade, were found working in canneries visited after the local schools had opened. In many of the counties the schools opened between the 7th and 15th of September and were in session during the time the canneries were in operation; in several in the southern part of the State they did not open until a week or two later. In at least one town in this section of the State, where a large cannery

was located, the opening of school was postponed until September 28 in order that children might work in the cannery. Several of the cannery managers said that more children under 16 had been employed before the beginning of the school term, and that after school started a child was employed occasionally after school hours. The representatives of the bureau found a larger number of children under 16 employed in canneries that they visited before school opened than in canneries visited after school opened. In 20 canneries located in towns where the date the local schools opened was ascertained and which were visited before school opened, 10 per cent of the total number were children under 16 as compared with 2 per cent in 18 canneries visited after school opened. With few exceptions these children under 16 were 14 years of age and had probably fulfilled the educational requirements and if employed in accordance with the law were not required to attend school.

Information as to school grade completed or last attended was obtained for 479 of the 493 children under 16 and for 538 of the 661 children between 16 and 18 found at work in the Indiana canneries. (Table 24.) Almost half (45 per cent) of the total number of minors reporting their grades had entered high school, including 32 per cent of the children under 16, and only 3 per cent had not attended or completed the sixth grade. According to average standards children of 14 years of age are expected to have completed at least the seventh and children of 15 at least the eighth grade. (See footnote 18a, p. 47.) Eighty-eight per cent of the 171 children of 14 years of age who were working in the Indiana canneries at the time of the survey and whose grades were ascertained had attended or had completed the seventh grade and 57 per cent had completed or at least attended the eighth grade; and 78 per cent of the 272 children of 15 years of age had completed or at least attended the eighth grade. The school attainment of these children was in advance of that of cannery workers of the same ages in Delaware and Maryland. One reason for this was that no negro children and no migratory children of foreign parentage whose school progress was found in both Delaware and Maryland to be exceptionally poor were found among the Indiana children. The school attainment of the minors between 16 and 18 in Indiana canneries was also relatively high; 57 per cent had attended high school, of whom 34 per cent had attended or completed the second year, 18 per cent the third year, and 4 per cent the fourth year of high school.

TABLE 24.—*Last school grade attended or completed by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Indiana canneries*

Grade and sex	Boys and girls employed					
	Total	Under 14	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
Total	1,154	38	175	280	329	332
Total reported	1,017	36	171	272	286	252
Under 5th grade	7	3	2	1	1	
5th grade	19	4	4	3	4	4
6th grade	56	6	15	16	14	5
7th grade	152	14	52	40	25	21
8th grade	323	7	64	94	88	70
9th grade	232	2	31	74	68	57
10th grade	128		2	39	58	29
11th grade	74			4	23	47
12th grade	25			1	5	19
High school; year not reported	1		1			

TABLE 24.—*Last school grade attended or completed by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Indiana canneries*—Continued

Grade and sex	Boys and girls employed					
	Total	Under 14	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
Not reported	137	2	4	8	43	80
Boys	402	9	53	99	121	120
Total reported	342	8	52	97	97	88
Under 5th grade	3	1	1		1	
5th grade	13	1	2	2	4	4
6th grade	20	1	6	6	3	4
7th grade	48	2	11	14	10	11
8th grade	92	2	18	25	27	20
9th grade	85	1	13	30	22	19
10th grade	51			19	20	12
11th grade	20			1	8	11
12th grade	9				2	7
High school; year not reported	1		1			
Not reported	60	1	1	2	24	32
Girls	752	29	122	181	208	212
Total reported	675	28	119	175	189	164
Under 5th grade	4	2	1	1		
5th grade	6	3	2	1		
6th grade	36	5	9	10	11	1
7th grade	104	12	41	26	15	10
8th grade	231	5	46	69	61	50
9th grade	147	1	18	44	46	38
10th grade	77		2	20	38	17
11th grade	54			3	15	36
12th grade	16			1	3	12
Not reported	77	1	3	6	19	48

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

Although the Indiana child labor law provides that all minors between 14 and 18 must obtain certificates for employment in canneries,[17] certificates were not found on file for 640 of the 1,154 minors under 18 employed in the canneries visited. (Table 25.) Certificates were found for a slightly larger porportion of minors under 16 than of those between 16 and 18—48 per cent as compared with 44 per cent. Thirty-three canneries had no certificates on file, and only 16 had certificates for all minors of certificate age who were found at work.

[17] Under the rules and regulations prescribed for the enforcement of the law, three types of certificates are issued in Indiana, the "employment certificate" for minors under 16 leaving school for full-time employment, the "vacation and holiday employment certificate," for children under 16 desiring to work outside school hours only, and the "minor's certificate of age," issued to all minors over 16 for work at any time. (See p. 61.)

TABLE 25.—*Number of canneries visited employing minors under 18 years of age, number employing minors under 18 years of age without employment certificates, and number of minors of specified ages employed without employment certificates in canneries in certain counties of Indiana*

County	Canneries visited employing minors under 18 years		Minors under 18 years employed							
	Total	Employing minors without certificates	Under 18 years		16 years, under 18		14 years, under 16		Under 14 years	
			Total	Without certificates	Total	Without certificates	Total	Without certificates	Total	Without certificates
Total	98	82	1,154	640	661	368	455	239	38	33
Bartholomew	3	3	27	20	20	16	7	4		
Blackford	1	1	12	4	12	4				
Boone	2	1	7	2	6	2	1			
Clark	2	2	49	41	23	15	24	24	2	2
Clay	1	1	21	6	21	6				
Crawford	1	1	7	7	5	5	2	2		
Daviess	1	1	6	3	5	2	1	1		
Delaware	6	5	17	9	17	9				
Dubois	1		22				22			
Floyd	2	2	15	13	5	5	10	8		
Fountain	1	1	13	7	12	7	1			
Franklin	1	1	10	10	8	8	2	2		
Gibson	1	1	7	1			7	1		
Grant	4	3	21	11	16	9	5	2		
Hamilton	3	3	11	9	9	7	2	2		
Hancock	4	3	11	7	7	3	4	4		
Harrison	2	2	28	25	18	16	9	8	1	1
Hendrick	1	1	22	8	14	4	8	4		
Henry	3	3	29	8	12	5	17	3		
Howard	1	1	4	2	3	1	1	1		
Jackson	4	4	245	35	116	16	124	16	5	3
Jay	1		3		3					
Jefferson	3	2	17	13	11	7	3	3	3	3
Jennings	1	1	27	6	18	3	9	3		
Johnson	5	4	37	23	30	16	6	6	1	1
Knox	1	1	20	12	17	10	3	2		
Madison	11	10	65	58	44	38	20	19	1	1
Marion	3	1	28	3	23	3	5			
Marshall	1	1	3	3	3	3				
Morgan	2	1	34	20	16	11	17	8	1	1
Perry	1	1	29	28	1	1	22	21	6	6
Pike	1	1	12	6	10	6	2			
Posey	1		1				1			
Pulaski	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1		
Putnam	1	1	7	1	6	1	1			
Randolph	2	2	7	6	7	6				
Rush	1	1	14	13	8	7	6	6		
Scott	3	3	170	150	83	72	80	72	7	6
Shelby	4	3	17	15	9	9	7	5	1	1
Spencer	1	1	2	2			2	2		
Sullivan	2	2	9	9	7	7	2	2		
Tipton	4	3	26	16	15	7	4	2	7	7
Vermillion	1	1	25	25	19	19	5	5	1	1
Vigo	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Washington	1		14				12		2	

These violations of the certificate law were well scattered through the State; they were found in 82 of the 98 canneries employing minors under 18, and these canneries were located in 41 of the 45 counties having canneries in which minors under 18 were found employed. (Table 25.) Some variation appeared between different establishments and between different parts of the State. In the 11 southern counties previously mentioned (see p. 63), violations of the certificate law were found in 18 of the 21 canneries employing minors of certificate age, whereas in the 11 east central counties with

which these southern counties previously have been compared, violations were found in 39 of the 48 canneries. Measured by the proportion of minors employed without certificates, the record of the east central counties is again better than that of the southern group as a whole, if the figures for one county in the latter group (Jackson) be excluded. This county, the canneries of which employed the largest number of children (245) of all those visited, had an unusually large percentage of children on certificates—86 per cent as compared with 25 per cent for the 10 other counties in the southern group and with 38 per cent in the east central group. In the second largest child-employing county in the State (Scott County), also in the southern group, only 12 per cent of its 170 children under 18 were working on certificates.

Most of the Indiana canners appeared to be familiar with the fact that certificates were required for workers under 18, and in the majority of the canneries some effort was made to comply with the certificate law. In a number of establishments the management was found to be careful about refusing employment to children without certificates, although as one canner, in whose cannery five minors of 16 and 17 were employed and one girl of 17 was found at work without a certificate, expressed it, "occasionally some slip in in spite of all our vigilance." One company operating three canneries, though it kept detailed records of all minors under 21 employed in its plants, required that documentary proof of age be obtained and filed for each employee under 18, and had ruled that "children under 16 must not be employed under any circumstances," nevertheless in two of its plants had employed some minors without certificates, including a few children under 16.

Other canneries were not so careful. Several canners admitted that although the children were told to get certificates, they allowed them to work while waiting for them. One canner said that he had instructed all applicants to get certificates but that some had been unable to do so because of failure to establish their age and that as he was so short of help he permitted them to work anyhow. A few canners, although they appeared to know the law, had not even asked the children for certificates. But in most cases failure to have certificates on file seemed to be due more to carelessness than to any opposition to the law or desire to disregard it. Reports like the following from the investigators' notes illustrate this attitude:

> Means to conform with the law, but in the rush and confusion of getting started two girls 17 years of age are working without age certificates.
>
> This is a new cannery. Mr. — has been so busy getting started that he has neglected to ask the children to get certificates. Agent explained State regulations to Mr. —, who said that he would proceed at once to get necessary certificates.
>
> Everyone was rushed and all help available was being used and they had no time to take care of certificates or inquire ages. * * * They knew the legal requirements and apologized for their course of action, but Mr. — said he did not see what else could be done as the crop this year was so large and they wanted to get as much canned as possible.

A few employers attributed the violations of the certificate law to the difficulty of obtaining certificates in their locality. One canner complained that some of the children employed by him had to go 18 miles to get certificates. Another explained that the children in his cannery had no certificates because they were required to go for them to the county seat, some 10 miles away, but the bureau agent later learned that an issuing officer was located in the town where the cannery

was. One cannery was in a town on the boundary line between two counties and the children living on both sides of the line had to go to their respective county seats for certificates—in one case the distance being so great that the management considered it too great a hardship to require the children to go. In a number of other cases the distance of the cannery from the issuing office was a probable reason for the fact that children had no certificates. A few canners complained that the county or local school superintendent made it difficult for the children to obtain certificates because it was too much trouble and he was not paid for it.

In a very few cases the canners seemed to be ignorant of the existence of the certificate law. One or two managers said they had never seen a certificate. In most of these establishments the manager had obtained a statement from the parents giving their consent to their children's employment in the cannery and usually containing a statement of age.

Under the certificate law and the rules and regulations established for its administration, issuing officers are authorized to issue minors' certificates to all minors applying for them between 18 and 21 years of age, and the majority of the issuing officers interviewed by the representatives of the bureau stated that they issued such certificates to minors 18 and over from time to time. The use of these certificates is optional with employers, however, and only a few canners seem to have taken advantage of this method of protecting themselves against the employment of minors who misrepresent their ages.

ISSUING OFFICERS

Under the child labor law of Indiana employment certificates are issued by the local superintendent of schools in all cities and incorporated towns having boards of school trustees or by some person designated by him in writing, and in all other school corporations by the county superintendent of schools or by someone he may designate in writing, but no one can be so designated by the city or county superintendents of schools without the approval of the State attendance officer. Representatives of the Children's Bureau interviewed 113 issuing officers (45 of whom issued for the county and 68 for local communities only) in 59 counties in which canneries were visited. Eighty-five of these issuing officers, in 42 counties, issued in localities where children were found in the canneries. In the great majority of cases the issuing for the county was done by the county superintendent himself, although in 6 counties, most of them relatively well populated, the county attendance officer had been designated as issuing officer and in another the issuing was done by the secretary to the superintendent. In the cities and towns in which local issuing officers were visited, somewhat less than two-thirds of the local superintendents served in that capacity and in a number of these places most or all of the actual work of issuing was done by the superintendent's secretary or an office clerk. In nine communities the local attendance officer had been designated as issuing officer and in five relatively large communities the work had been assigned to the vocational director of the public schools. In two large cities regular issuing officers had been especially appointed, and in one place an officer combined the duties of issuing certificates and taking the school

census. In one small community a school principal was the issuing officer, and in another a teacher. In another the work was done by the president of the local school board, a business man, in another, by the president of the board of children's guardians, a lawyer; in two small towns certificates were issued by township trustees, both local business men; and in one small village located at some distance from the county seat the night watchman of the cannery had been appointed to issue vacation certificates and minors' certificates of age for the cannery. These last five named were the only issuing officers interviewed who were not connected with the public-school system in a full-time salaried capacity.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ISSUANCE

Evidence of age.

The Indiana child labor law is specific in its requirement that the best proof of age available be obtained for all children issued certificates for employment. This requirement, which is the same for certificates of all kinds—regular, vacation, and minors' certificates of age (see p. 61)—is similar to that prescribed under the former Federal child labor laws. It provides that the issuing officer shall require in the following order (a) a birth certificate, (b) a baptismal certificate, (c) a bona fide contemporary Bible record of the minor's birth or other documentary evidence (except school record or parent's affidavit) satisfactory to the State industrial board, such as a certificate of arrival in the United States, a passport, or an insurance policy (this evidence to be at least one year old, or in the case of an insurance policy at least four years old), or (d) a certificate of physical age sworn to by public-health or public-school physician or by the superintendent of schools, corroborated by a parent's affidavit as to the child's age and the record of age as given in the register of school first attended by the child or in any school census if obtainable. The law provides that the issuing officer shall require a birth certificate in preference to any other type of evidence "and shall not accept evidence of age permitted by any later paragraph unless he shall receive and file evidence that the proof of age required in the preceding paragraph or paragraphs can not be obtained." [18]

A careful check of the evidence of age upon which certificates had been issued to minors in the Indiana canneries was made by representatives of the bureau, and each of the 113 issuing officers interviewed was questioned regarding his practice in obtaining proof of age.

Indiana has had good birth registration for a number of years, and the State industrial board, in its instructions to issuing officers, has emphasized the necessity of obtaining the best possible evidence. For 358 (71 per cent) of the 503 minors working on certificates for whom information as to proof of age accepted by the issuing officer was found on the certificates, birth records constituted the proof of age accepted by the issuing officers. Only 7 children had been issued certificates on the evidence of baptismal records, 26 on Bible or other family records, 23 on insurance policies, and 56 (11 per cent of the cases) on evidence "d," that is, a certificate of physical age, accompanied by the parent's affidavit and the school record. For 20 of these 56 birth records were found by the agents of the Children's Bureau, for 3 others baptismal records, for 1 an insurance policy, and

[18] Ind., Acts of 1921, ch. 132, sec. 19.

for 10 Bible or other family records. Better evidence of age than that accepted by the issuing officers was found by the Children's Bureau for 52 cases in all, constituting about one-tenth of the total number of children for whom certificates were on file, and including 34 of the 56 cases in which the issuing officers had accepted the lowest grade of evidence permitted by the law. In only 11 of the 503 cases, however, was the birth date entered on the child's certificate by the issuing officer different from that obtained by the agents of the bureau. In 10 of these cases the children were found to be younger than the ages accepted by the issuing officers, 4 of them being under legal working age, although 14 was the age entered on the certificate.

In 27 cases the record showed that insufficient evidence had been accepted, such as a school enumeration record, school record, school record and parent's statement, or parent's statement alone. Twelve of these certificates had been issued by one officer, who admitted that he never attempted to obtain a birth record or any other kind of legal documentary evidence. He had issued all certificates on the lowest grade of proof legally acceptable, that is, the parent's affidavit, a school record, and a certificate of physical age, the latter in some cases signed by a physician but in many cases by himself. Another officer had issued four certificates and another three, only 9 officers issuing the 27 certificates on insufficient evidence. In most of these cases the mistakes appear to have been unintentional, due to carelessness in issuing or to inexperience.

All except two of the issuing officers interviewed said that they always tried to obtain a birth certificate before accepting another type of evidence, though a few made this attempt only in the case of children born in the county. The majority said they followed the law in refusing to accept proof of a lower order before making an effort to obtain evidence of the higher grades in the order prescribed, but a number stated that they issued certificates on only two kinds of evidence, the birth certificate and the certificate of physical age, school record, and parent's affidavit. Some said the difficulty of obtaining baptismal records or other types of documentary evidence acceptable under the law caused them to accept less satisfactory evidence and others that their failure to require such records was due to the fact that they placed no confidence in their accuracy. For the most part, however, it would appear that the issuance of so large a proportion of the certificates on "a" or "d" evidence might be attributed primarily to the trouble and delay involved in getting baptismal and other documentary evidence compared with getting birth records from the county health officer or a certificate of physical age (which the superintendent was allowed by law to sign himself) accompanied by a parent's affidavit and a school record. As has been said, the agents of the Children's Bureau found documentary evidence that would have been acceptable under the Indiana law for 34 of the 56 minors for whom certificates had been issued on evidence "d." Baptismal records were found by the bureau for 16 children of whom 8 had been issued certificates on inferior types of evidence. Even in the case of birth records, which the issuing officers very generally attempted to obtain, the birth record was the type of evidence accepted for only 71 per cent of the certificated minors, whereas the Children's Bureau found birth records for 80 per cent. The

difference appeared to be due at least in part to the fact that some issuing officers apparently make little effort, if any, to obtain birth records for children born in other States, or even in Indiana outside their own counties. In several cases, moreover, issuing officers complained to bureau agents of the difficulty of obtaining birth certificates in their own counties, or said they were in doubt as to the reliability of the county health officer's search for birth records. However, as the handbook of rules and regulations issued by the State industrial board specifically informs issuing officers,[19] birth records for all children in the State can be obtained from the office of the State board of health.

Proof of physical fitness.

The Indiana child labor law provides that proof of physical fitness based on a physical examination made by "a school health officer or a public health officer" should be a prerequisite for the employment of "any minor subject to the employment certificate law," that is, of any minor going to work between the ages of 14 and 18. However, under the authority given the State industrial board and the State board of attendance to prescribe forms and make rules and regulations for the issuance of certificates "which are not inconsistent with the provisions of law," these authorities have specifically stated in their instructions to issuing officers regarding the use of forms given them for the administration of the law that the physical-examination blank and certificate of physical fitness apply only to the "employment certificate," that is, the regular certificate which releases children between 14 and 16 years of age from school for work. Not many certificates of this sort are issued in Indiana nowadays [20] and only a few of the children found at work in the Indiana canneries for whom certificates were on file were found to be working on regular employment certificates—almost all of those under 16 for whom certificates had been issued being employed on vacation certificates, and those between 16 and 18 on minors' certificates. Under the State rules and regulations, physical examinations were thus required for only a negligible number of the minors employed in the Indiana canneries, although a few issuing officers stated that they did in fact require a physical examination of applicants for all kinds of certificates or of all applicants under 16. Although the canning season is relatively short and most of the work performed by children in canneries does not require great physical effort, some minors were found employed at relatively arduous tasks (see p. 66), and the long hours worked by many (see p. 68) together with the strain incidental to rush production, make the cannery a place of work decidedly unsuitable except for persons whose health and physical vigor are unquestionable. This is of course especially true with regard to workers who have not reached physical maturity. The requirement of a certificate of physical fitness is therefore especially desirable for the protection of young workers in canneries. Whether the State authorities had power to exempt applicants for vacation certificates and minors'

[19] Laws Relating to the Employment of Women and Children and Rules and Regulations for Issuing Certificates. Issued by the Industrial Board of Indiana, Department of Women and Children, 1923, p. 53.

[20] In the year ending September, 1925 (the year of the Children's Bureau inquiry), the State industrial board received duplicates of only 1,212 employment certificates, as compared with 5,736 vacation and holiday certificates, and 14,179 minors' certificates of age. (Year Book of the State of Indiana for the year 1925, p. 84. Indianapolis, 1925.)

certificates of age in face of the apparent intention of the Indiana child labor law to include all young workers under the provision of the law requiring a physical examination before issuance of work permits is open to serious question, but at any rate by so doing they have relieved the issuing officers of all legal obligation to see that a test of physical fitness is given applicants for summer work in the canneries.

Other.

Although the Indiana law provides that the parent or guardian of a child under 18 applying for an employment certificate shall appear with the child before the issuing officer, and the latter must certify to that fact over his signature on all certificates issued, few of the issuing officers reported that they required the parent to make a personal appearance in all cases, and the majority of them di not require it in the case of vacation certificates or minor's certificates of age. Some required the parent to appear only if the child was under 16. On the form that is furnished by the industrial board for the "minor's certificate of age"—used for minors over 16—no statement is made that the parent has actually appeared, but this statement is made on the forms used for minors under 16 for both regular and vacation certificates. In many of the cases where the issuing officer did not require the parent to appear the certificate or some other paper was sent home to the parents to sign, and in other cases the issuing officer called the parents up on the telephone and asked if they wanted the child to work. In some cases the issuing officer said that he did not require the parents to appear if he knew them. Other defects in issuing were noted on a number of the certificates, but most of them were of little importance, such as the omission of the number of the certificate, the date of issuance, or of information as to the child's color or sex.

STATE SUPERVISION

Although in Indiana the State has no direct supervision over the issuing of employment certificates, the law places upon State agencies certain responsibilities which give them considerable indirect power in this respect. These are as follows: (1) The right to approve issuing officers designated by the local school superintendents; (2) the right to prescribe forms and make rules and regulations for the issuing of certificates; (3) the requirement that copies of all certificates issued be filed with the State industrial board.[21]

In order "to promote uniformity and efficiency" in administering the law it is provided that employment certificates shall be issued in such form and under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted from time to time by the State industrial board and the State board of attendance. An unusually well-planned set of forms to be used in the issuance of certificates, as well as detailed rules and regulations, has been prepared, and these, together with a number of useful suggestions to issuing officers, attendance officers, and employers, are published and distributed widely throughout the State by the industrial board. Members of the staff of the department of women and children of the State industrial board visit the issuing officers from time to time when they are making inspections in the locality. An effort is made to inspect all canneries at least once during the

[21] Ind., Acts of 1921, ch. 132, sec. 19.

season by inspectors of the department of women and children of the State industrial board. But with a staff of not more than two inspectors and the responsibility for enforcing all the laws relating to the employment of women and minors throughout the State it is not possible for them to supervise carefully the methods of issuing certificates. A considerable number of the issuing officers, however, reported that an inspector called upon them about once a year, or once in two or three years.

Undoubtedly the most effective provision for securing compliance with the certificate law and uniformity in procedure throughout the State has been the requirement that issuing officers send duplicates of all certificates issued to the State industrial board. Apparently this requirement is now rather generally complied with throughout the State. A few of the issuing officers in the smaller communities visited said that they did not send in their duplicates as soon as the law required. However, the industrial board receives annually about 29,000 duplicates,[22] all of which are examined carefully and those with errors returned to the issuing officers for correction. If corrections are not made, it becomes necessary for the board to revoke the certificates, and to notify the employer and employee as well as the certificating officer that this has been done. Revoking certificates, as the industrial board points out, "works a hardship on both the employer and employee on account of a condition over which they have no control," [23] and the board is justifiably gratified in being able to point out a decrease in the number of certificates revoked in the years following the inauguration of the present system of certificating under the child labor law of 1921, as "indicating better than anything else the improvement in the issuance of certificates." Most of the issuing officers visited by representatives of the Children's Bureau stated that they had at times received certificates back for correction or had received criticisms and suggestions about their methods of issuing, and in at least one or two of the cases where no certificates had been returned, the work of issuing appeared to be so well done that the industrial board in all probability had found no errors. A number of the issuing officers, moreover, reported that the industrial board was "very strict," "very particular regarding small details," "returned cards for smallest error," etc., thus indicating the care with which the industrial board checks up on the issuance throughout the State. Some of the issuing officers also reported that they consulted the industrial board, chiefly through correspondence, on various questions that came up in connection with the work of issuing certificates. The pamphlet containing the rules and regulations, etc., distributed by the board to the issuing officers throughout the State, calls attention to the fact that all questions relating to the certificate law may be referred to the board. Failure to take full advantage of the opportunity of consulting by letter with the State board was doubtless in some cases due to the fact that the issuing officer was new at the work and in others to the fact that he had so many other duties and so few children applied for certificates that he had not given much attention to the matter of issuing.

[22] The number received in each of the years from 1924 to 1927, inclusive, has been between 29,000 and 30,000. Reports of the Department of Women and Children of the Industrial Board of the State of Indiana contained in the Indiana Year-Books for 1924 (p. 472), 1925 (p. 82), 1926 (p. 558), and 1927 (p. 187).

[23] Report of Industrial Board of the State of Indiana for the year ending September 30, 1923, p. 10.

SUMMARY

Indiana ranks fifth among the States in the canning of fruits and vegetables according to the average number of wage earners employed. Tomatoes are the principal crop canned, but the State also ranks high in the canning of beans, corn, hominy, pumpkin and squash, and kraut. Agents of the Children's Bureau visited 125 of the 202 canneries in the State, of which 97 were working only on tomatoes and tomato products and 15 were canning only corn at the time of the visits.

Most of the labor for the canneries visited was white and lived in the vicinity of the canneries. Two canneries provided sleeping quarters.

Minors under 18 found at work in 98 canneries numbered 1,154—8 per cent of the total number of workers in these canneries. They included 493 children under 16, who were 4 per cent of the total workers.

Sixty-seven per cent of the workers under 16 and 64 per cent of those between 16 and 18 were girls.

Thirty-eight, less than 8 per cent of the working children under 16, were under 14 years of age, the legal minimum for employment in any industrial occupation in Indiana. These children worked in 17 canneries.

Seventy-four per cent of the children under 16 and 71 per cent of the minors between 16 and 18 were in canneries packing only tomatoes or tomato products.

Of the girls under 16, 83 per cent were tomato peelers and most of the remainder trimmed, sorted, or packed tomatoes, inspected, sorted, trimmed, or husked corn, snipped beans, piled and stacked cans, capped, washed, or polished bottles, or inspected labels, or were can girls. Of the girls of 16 and 17, 66 per cent were tomato peelers; the remainder did work similar to that of girls under 16.

Of the boys under 16, 21 per cent were can boys and 14 per cent were tomato peelers, sorters, or packers or corn sorters or trimmers; 13 per cent removed cans from closing machines and piled them in crates, 8 per cent packed, piled, and stacked filled cans, and the remainder trucked, made or labeled boxes, inspected cans, lifted and stacked boxes, cleaned up floors, carried water, and did various other jobs. Boys between 16 and 18 did much the same kind of work, though in many cases their work was heavier than that of the younger boys. Only 7 boys under 16, but 24 of those between 16 and 18, operated machines.

Forty-four per cent of the working minors reported upon were boys under 16 or girls under 18 who were employed more than 8 hours a day in violation of the provisions of the Indiana child labor law. Seventy-five per cent of the boys and girls under 16, all of whom are affected by the 8 hour law, had worked more than 8 hours a day. Violations of this provision were found in 82 of the 98 canneries employing minors of the ages to which the law applied. Forty-six per cent of the children under 16 worked 10 hours or longer, and 13 per cent 12 hours or longer. Fifty-one per cent of the minors of 16 and 17 years of age worked at least 10 hours, and 17 per cent 12 hours or longer.

Fifty-four of 58 children under 16, and 20 of 32 girls between 16 and 18, for whom a week's time records were obtained, for all of

whom work for more than 48 hours a week is prohibited by the Indiana child labor law, had worked more than 48 hours.

Forty-two per cent of the children under 16 and 25 per cent of the girls between 16 and 18 had been employed during the season of 1925 between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m., contrary to the provisions of the child labor law. These violations were found in 43 of the 98 canneries employing minors subject to the night-work provisions of the law. Seven per cent of the night workers had worked at least 6 nights. Eighteen of the children working at night were under 14 years of age.

Cannery work appeared to interfere little with school attendance. Few children of compulsory school ages were found at work in canneries visited after the date on which the local schools opened.

Employment certificates were found on file for only 514 of the 1,154 minors under 18 at work in the canneries visited (45 per cent of those under 16 and 44 per cent of those between 16 and 18), although the child labor law requires certificates for all employed minors between 14 and 18. Thirty-three of the 98 canneries had no certificates for working minors under 18.

Seventy-one per cent of the certificates had been issued on birth records, the type of evidence required under the law, if available. The Children's Bureau, however, found that legally preferable evidence of age to that accepted was available for 10 per cent of the certificated children. According to the documentary evidence obtained by the Children's Bureau, 10 of the 514 minors with certificates were younger than the age certified on the permit.

Seventy per cent of the children under 16 were at work in 11 counties in the southern part of the State as contrasted with 17 per cent in 11 east central counties, although the southern counties gave employment to only 22 per cent of the total number of workers reported in the canneries visited in the State whereas the 11 east central counties employed 43 per cent of all the workers reported. In the 11 southern counties were found also a considerably larger percentage of minors under 16 and between 16 and 18 employed in violation of the maximum-hour standards than in the 11 east central counties and (if one county where an unusually large percentage of children were found to have certificates is omitted) a larger percentage of minors employed in violation of the employment-certificate standards. On the other hand, a slightly smaller proportion of the workers under 18 in the 11 southern counties were employed in violation of the night work law than was the case in the 11 east central counties.

Although the State has no direct authority over the issuance of employment certificates, the law places upon State agencies certain responsibilities that give them a good deal of indirect power in this respect. Chief among these is the right of the State industrial board and the State board of attendance to prescribe forms and make rules and regulations for the issuance of certificates, and the requirement that copies of all certificates issued be filed with the State industrial board. Through the exercise of these powers, especially through the careful checking of duplicate certificates in the office of the State industrial board, considerable uniformity was found in the issuing practice thoughout the State.

MARYLAND

INTRODUCTION

Maryland for years has been an important center for the canning of vegetables, fruits, and sea foods of many kinds. Oyster packing was started in Baltimore as early as 1841 and was followed in the next decade by the canning of fruits and vegetables.[1] To-day Maryland is still one of the principal canning States, ranking third according to the average number of wage earners employed during the year in the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables.[2] Canning is one of the most important industries in the State, ranking third according to the value of the products and second according to the average number of wage earners employed.[3] More than 25,000 persons were reported as employed in the industry on September 15, 1925, at the peak of the canning season.[4]

In no other State in which the Children's Bureau has conducted inquiries (see p. 3) does the canning industry have such a large percentage of children among its employees, not even the State of Delaware, where children may be employed in canneries at 12 years of age, two years younger than the minimum age under the Maryland law. Although many children work in the canneries only a few weeks during the year, no single manufacturing industry in the State employs so many as the canning industry, as is shown by a comparison of the number of employment certificates issued under the Maryland child labor law for cannery work with those issued for employment in other industries.[5]

Child labor in Maryland canneries has been the subject of study and comment for many years. In the report of an inquiry into the employment of women and children in the Maryland canneries made by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1911, the statement was made that—

> The most impressive thing about the Maryland canneries visited was the large number of children at work, a great many of them, apparently, under 12 years of age, some of them unquestionably and often admittedly under 11.[6]

The author of this report estimated that the children in the canneries visited "were nearly as numerous as the women,"[7] who totaled 3,624 in the 42 establishments included in the study.[8] When this

---

[1] A History of the Canning Industry (Souvenir of the 7th Annual Convention of the National Canners and Allied Associations, Baltimore, February 2 to 7, 1914), pp. 8, 9. Published by The Canning Trade, Baltimore, Md., 1914.

[2] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 22-23. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[3] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Statistics for Industries, States and Cities, pp. 51-52. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[4] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, p. 8.

[5] See annual reports of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland. In 1925, the year of the bureau's inquiry, 2,090 children (including 1,863 in the counties and 227 in Baltimore City) were certificated for work in canneries, 1,743 in the clothing industry being the next largest number certificated for work in any single manufacturing industry. (Computed from Tables 6 (pp. 22-23) and 5a (p. 41), Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland.)

[6] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (U. S Department of Commerce and Labor), No. 96, September, 1911, p. 353. Washington, 1912.

[7] Ibid., p. 469.

[8] Ibid., p. 349.

inquiry was made, there was practically no legal regulation in Maryland outside Baltimore City of the work of children in canneries,[9] but soon afterwards a new State child labor law[10] was passed prohibiting the employment of children under 12 in canneries and requiring employment certificates for those between 12 and 16. The passage of this law (which became operative on December 1, 1912) was followed by marked efforts on the part of the State authorities in the face of many difficulties to work out an adequate program of enforcement in the canning counties.

A second Federal inquiry as to the employment of children in Maryland canneries was made by the Children's Bureau in 1918, seven years after the publication of the report of the Bureau of Labor, and five years after the law regulating child labor in the Maryland canneries became operative and a system of employment certificates for the children in the county canneries had been inaugurated and annual inspections of the canneries throughout the State had become a routine procedure. The passage of the first Federal child labor law, [11] which became operative on September 1, 1917, and which in effect prohibited the employment of children under 14 in canneries throughout the country, and the passage of an amendment to the Maryland child labor law,[12] which became effective on June 1, 1918, and which raised the minimum age for employment in the canneries of the State to 14 years, thus conforming to the age standards of the Federal law, had further discouraged the employment of young children in the canneries. The Federal law was declared unconstitutional on June 3, 1918, several months before the survey made by the bureau, but the change in the State law was, of course, still effective. Violations of the minimum-age provisions of the State child labor law, however, were found in 172 of the 205 canneries inspected. Of 1,728 children found employed 741 were under 14 years; 230 were under 12, 75 under 10, and 29 under 8. (See also p. 100.) Moreover, the number of children reported in this second survey was known to be much less than the number actually employed because many children were hurried out of the canneries on the approach of the inspectors.[13] In 1911, when there was no legal reason why the children should not be at work in the canneries, this does not seem to have been done.

A third general inspection of the Maryland canneries by Federal agents was made in 1920 by inspectors operating under the United States child labor tax law.[14] This law, by imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits for the entire year of any cannery employing children under 14 years of age, should by the severity of the penalty it imposed have proved a most effective deterrent to the employment of young children. Of 441 children under 16 found employed in the 53 canneries inspected in this year, however, 250 were under 14,[15] a

[9] The child labor law in effect before 1912 (Laws of 1906, ch. 192) exempted from its provisions all establishments in the counties (i. e., outside the city of Baltimore) between June 1 and October 15, the exemption thus covering practically all the canning season. There was a law fixing a maximum 10-hour day (Code 1903, art. 27, sec. 217) for children under 16, the enforcement of which was placed under the bureau of statistics and information in 1910 (Laws of 1910, ch. 607), which applied to "any manufacturing business or factory" in any part of the State, but this did not specifically mention canneries.

[10] Md., Laws of 1912, ch. 731.

[11] Act of Sept. 1, 1916, 39 Stat. 675, ch. 432.

[12] Md., Laws of 1918, ch. 495.

[13] Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law, pp. 95-97. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 78. Washington, 1921.

[14] Act of Feb. 24, 1919, 40 Stat. 1138, ch. 18.

[15] From unpublished records of the former child labor tax division, Bureau of Internal Revenue, U. S. Treasury Department.

larger proportion than was found in the establishments inspected in the Federal inquiry of 1918. (See p. 100.)

Maryland still has lower standards of legal protection for child workers in the canning industry than for child workers in other factory occupations. The age minimum for this work has been the same as for other occupations since 1918 and employment certificates have been required for children employed in canneries since 1912, but canning and packing establishments are still exempted from all State regulations restricting the hours of labor of child and women workers.[16] For children under 16 employed in other manufacturing and mercantile establishments and in most other occupations, the Maryland law provides a maximum 8-hour day, 48-hour week, and 6-day week, and prohibits night work between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m.

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

The Canners' Directory for 1925 lists 407 establishments canning (including pickling and preserving) fruits and vegetables in Maryland,[17] 33 of which were located in the city of Baltimore and the rest in 20 of the 23 counties of the State. In the present study, made in 1925, information as to the number and conditions of child workers was obtained through visits by bureau agents for 211 establishments, including 198 in the counties and 13 in the city of Baltimore. (Table 26.)

TABLE 26.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed in canneries in the city of Baltimore and certain counties of Maryland*

County or city	Canneries visited					Persons employed						
	Total	Employing children under 16 years			Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years		Under 12 years	
		Total	Under 14 years	Under 12 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years
Total	211	201	165	76	10	16,379	1,564	9.5	670	42.8	181	11.6
Anne Arundel	6	6	2	1	------	209	17	8.1	5	---------	1	---------
Baltimore (city)	13	12	4	3	1	2,294	50	2.2	5	10.0	4	8.0
Baltimore	1	1	1	1	-------	18	7	------	5	---------	2	---------
Caroline	21	21	18	12	-------	1,824	213	11.7	100	46.9	26	12.2
Carroll	18	18	15	4	-------	2,024	164	8.1	57	34.8	17	10.4
Cecil	6	6	6	4	-------	342	63	18.4	36	57.1	12	19.0
Dorchester	15	15	15	8	-------	1,492	166	11.1	77	46.4	21	12.7
Harford	42	35	25	11	7	1,756	165	9.4	69	41.8	19	11.5
Kent	6	6	5	3	-------	300	27	9.0	16	---------	5	---------
Queen Anne	9	9	9	4	-------	900	90	10.0	47	52.2	8	8.9
Somerset	23	22	20	5	1	1,815	165	9.1	69	41.8	11	6.7
Talbot	16	15	12	3	1	893	105	11.8	43	41.0	8	7.6
Wicomico	19	19	17	9	-------	1,466	170	11.6	73	42.9	22	12.9
Worcester	16	16	16	8	-------	1,046	162	15.5	68	42.0	25	15.4

[16] The exemptions to the hour regulations for female employees extend only to fruit and vegetable canneries.

[17] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 83–107. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C. The United States Census for 1925 lists 322 establishments engaged in the canning of these products. The census statistics were, however, collected only from establishments reporting products valued at $5,000 or more. (Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 2, 22.)

The canneries visited were in all the principal canning counties of the State, including all the counties on the Eastern Shore (the section of Maryland which lies east of Chesapeake Bay), three counties north of Baltimore City (Harford, Baltimore, and Carroll), and Anne Arundel County south of Baltimore. The visits were made between August 18 and September 30, 1925, and all but 21 establishments were seen in September, the peak month in the Maryland canning industry.

The principal crops canned in Maryland are tomatoes, corn, beans, and peas. Many of the Maryland canneries put up a number of different kinds of vegetables and fruits at different seasons of the year, but at the season of the bureau inquiry almost all the 211 visited were canning tomatoes or corn. (Table 27.) One hundred and eighty-five, including all those visited in 9 counties (Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Somerset, Talbot, and Worcester), were canning nothing but tomatoes; 15 (5 in Harford County and 10 in Carroll County) only corn; and 3 (2 in Baltimore City and 1 in Carroll County) both tomatoes and corn. Three were putting up string beans and 3 lima beans in addition to tomatoes or corn, or both, and 1 (in Carroll County) was canning string beans only.

TABLE 27.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Maryland canneries*

Product	Canneries visited				Persons employed				
	Total	Employing children under 16 years		Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years	
		Total	Under 14 years			Number	Per cent [1]	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years [1]
Total	211	201	165	10	16,379	1,564	9.5	670	42.8
Tomatoes only	185	176	149	9	13,100	1,366	10.4	620	45.4
Tomatoes and tomato products	1			1	77				
Corn	15	15	8		1,758	133	7.6	30	22.6
Lima beans	1	1	1		14	3		1	
More than one product:									
Tomatoes and corn	3	3	1		325	10	3.1	1	
Tomatoes and green and wax beans	2	2	2		244	6	2.5	2	
Tomatoes and lima beans	1	1	1		125	12	9.6	3	
Tomatoes, corn, and green and wax beans	2	2	2		625	31	5.0	11	
Corn and green and wax beans	1	1	1		111	3	2.7	2	

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

Not only is the tomato crop the chief canning crop of the State, but Maryland leads all the States in the canning of this crop and produces more than one-third of the tomatoes canned in the United States. Fully four-fifths of the workers and at least 87 per cent of the children in the canneries visited were engaged in work on tomatoes. The visits were made, however, at the peak of the tomato-canning season, and the 1925 tomato crop was an unusually large one. Had the survey been made earlier in the season doubtless a larger number of the canneries would have been working on corn, for corn is included

among the products of 99 of the 407 Maryland canneries listed in the 1925 Canners' Directory, 40 of which were among those visited by the bureau. The visits were also somewhat untimely for the work on green beans, in the snipping of which many children find employment. Maryland is one of the leading States in the canning of beans. Beans are included among the products of 93 Maryland establishments listed in the 1925 Canners' Directory, 41 of which were visited by the bureau. On a visit to Baltimore canneries, early in October, 1926, made for the purpose of obtaining photographs of children at work on tomatoes and beans, 4 out of 5 establishments visited were found to be canning beans, as compared with 2 of the 13 establishments visited in August and September, 1925. The children at work in these establishments at that time were not counted but a large number of young children were observed, most of them snipping beans.

Baltimore, the birthplace of the canning industry in Maryland, is still one of the most important canning centers of the State. Almost all the Baltimore canneries are situated on the city water front where in a few hours tomatoes from the farms of the Eastern Shore can be delivered by barge to them. They are also within easy trucking distance of the farms of Baltimore County and other near-by counties. By canning a large variety of fruits and vegetables and in some cases oysters, pork and beans, and other products many canneries can operate throughout the year. The great majority of the Maryland canneries, however, are in the tomato and corn raising districts. Some of these small town or country canneries put up a variety of produce, and a few run all through the year, but most commonly they can only one, or at most two products (such as tomatoes, corn, tomatoes and corn, or tomatoes and beans), and are open only for the period in which the particular crop or crops are in season, often not more than from five to eight weeks. Half the Maryland canneries outside Baltimore City listed in the 1925 Canners' Directory were reported as handling only tomatoes, the canning season for which rarely lasts more than six weeks.

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

Canneries in Baltimore are generally substantial buildings with modern machinery and equipment. But the county canneries, which compose the great majority in Maryland, are generally 1-story frame buildings, whitewashed or unpainted and weather stained, which can be distinguished from large sheds and barns only by their tall smokestacks. The yards of many of those that were visited were cluttered and untidy. Tomato waste had been dumped in piles in the yard or left standing in the bins, old baskets were scattered about, and the ground as a result of poor drainage was moist and ill smelling.

Many of the Maryland canneries have but one building, occasionally open on two sides, in which all the work of canning and packing takes place. The larger ones have two or three buildings, including a warehouse for storing the product, which is usually more substantially built than the main building. Usually the vegetables are prepared and packed in the main building, but some canneries have a separate shed or a platform with a roof over it where tomates are scalded and peeled and corn is husked. In one corn cannery visited the corn was

husked on the platform where it was dumped by the farm wagons, with no roof or other shelter over it to protect the huskers from the hot sun.

Information as to construction and equipment was obtained in this study for 201 canneries in which children were employed. The main building of more than two-fifths had only one story; the others had at least a loft for storing and handling empty cans. Facilities for reaching the second story or the loft were often inadequate; 61 of 113 buildings having lofts or second stories had steps or stairs (though 15 had no railings and in others the railings were broken or the steps narrow and far apart), 19 had only a ladder, and 2 had only an inclined wooden plank. Poor lighting of stairways or ladders in several instances increased the possibility of danger.

In 109 canneries the floors in the workrooms of the main building were of concrete and in 7 of wood. In most of the remaining ones the floors in the workrooms where the tomatoes were scalded and peeled were wood, but the floors in the workrooms where the vegetables were packed were concrete. Warehouses and the second floors or lofts also had wooden ones, loft floors often being so loosely constructed that the heat and steam rose from below and completely enveloped the workers.

In almost all canneries some special attention had been given to floor construction. Ground floors generally had drains.[18] Small gutters under the peeling and packing tables into which the juice and other waste from the tables dripped led into large gutters at the sides or in the middle of the room and thence into a central drain outside the building. Three canneries visited had no drainage system whatever, 10 others were drained only by holes and cracks in the wooden floors, and 1 had only a slatted floor. Many floors were constructed to slope toward the drains and this, as well as the running water which flowed through the gutters, facilitated the drainage process.

In many tomato canneries bits of skin, seeds, and other vegetable waste, and in corn canneries the milk from the kernels, dropped on the floor and mixing with the water and vegetable juice made the floors wet and slippery. The floors in 148 canneries were wet at the time of the visit, 109 of them slushy. In only 46 were the floors dry—6 of the 15 corn canneries, 35 of the 176 tomato canneries, and 4 in which several products were canned. Some of these were seen early in the morning before the plant had been in operation long enough for the floors to get wet. Refuse and water collected about the peeling tables and filling machines and in spots where the floors were cracked and broken. Many canneries had one or two inches of water standing under the tables, and a few had several inches of slop on the floor in places. Some kept the floors clean, if not dry, by washing or hosing them several times a day; a few had a special worker to wash and sweep refuse into the drains.

Although many country canneries had little modern equipment, women and girls seldom were required to carry buckets and to empty waste. Where automatic conveyors were not provided men or boys did such work. In 119 of the 201 canneries the moving of pails of tomatoes from scalders to peelers, from peelers to filling machines,

[18] "Adequate drainage" to lead all waste liquids away from the building is required by the State law. "No litter, drainage, or waste matter of any kind shall be allowed to collect in and around the buildings." (Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (k) (1).)

1, PEELING TOMATOES AT A "MERRY-GO-ROUND"; 2, SNIPPING BEANS; 3, UNLOADING TOMATOES AT A RURAL CANNERY

and the disposal of waste was done by hand. Usually enamel-ware buckets were used, but in 61 canneries woven wire baskets and in a few wooden boxes or baskets were also used, the drip and slop from them adding to the wetness and slipperiness of the floors. Machine conveyors are less common in the tomato canneries of Maryland than in those of Delaware and Indiana. Only about one-third of the Maryland tomato canneries conveyed all or part of the product by machine, though most of the corn canneries had machine conveyors.

Tomato peelers and corn sorters and examiners worked at conveyor tables in 53 of the 176 tomato canneries and in 11 of the 15 corn canneries. The common form of conveyor table in use is known as the "merry-go-round," constructed of metal, elliptical in shape, with stationary edges and a slowly moving conveyor in the center which carries the pails to and away from the workers, who stand on each side. In 123 tomato canneries, peelers worked at stationary tables, which in some cases, although especially constructed for the purpose, were very loosely built so that the juice and tomato pulp dropped through the cracks to the floor or on the worker.

The boys and others who carried buckets of tomatoes or pushed the skins down the drains had no protection from the wet and slippery floors except rubber boots. Many peelers and packers also stood constantly on damp floors or in water, some wearing rubbers or overshoes. In a few canneries wooden slats had been placed over the concrete floors, and in many either the employer or the worker provided boards or boxes to stand on. These were in many cases inadequate to protect the workers; in one cannery, for example, the stands, raised by supports, were several inches high, but the workers had wet feet. In 19 canneries in which the floors were wet no stands of any kind were in use.

To protect themselves from the splash and drip of tomato juice most peelers wore some kind of apron—rubber aprons in a few cases but more often cotton aprons or newspapers or burlap bags tied around them—and this was usually wet with water and juice. In some canneries all the women and girls wore washable caps, as is required by State law, but in others few complied with the requirement.[19]

Maryland has no law that requires canneries outside Baltimore City to provide women and girls with seats,[20] and a relatively small number of those visited furnished them. In the five other States included in the study for which this information was obtained, in all of which seats are required by law, almost all the canneries visited except in Delaware provided at least some seats for the women workers. In Maryland, 147 canneries furnished no seats; 50 for which this information was obtained had some kind of seat—chairs, stools, or packing boxes—in some cases provided by the workers. Tables were usually high, so that the peelers and packers had to stand at their work. Small children were frequently seen standing on overturned boxes in order to reach up to the peeling table. In one well-equipped cannery unusual provision had been made for the workers' comfort through stools adjusted to the height of the merry-go-round.

[19] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (o).

[20] A law applicable to Baltimore City only requires "mercantile and manufacturing establishments" to furnish seats for the use of female employees. (Md., Laws of 1882, ch. 35, as reenacted by Laws of 1898, ch. 123, sec. 505, and Laws of 1900, ch. 589.)

The State law requires "convenient toilet rooms" and separate ones for each sex in every establishment canning food,[21] but does not set a standard for the kind or the number of toilets. With two exceptions some kind of toilet was provided for workers in the canneries visited, but they were inadequate in number and little attention was paid to keeping them in a sanitary condition. The toilets in two canneries were in such bad condition that they were not used, and those in another cannery had been condemned by the State sanitary inspector. Outside privies were the rule, and only 23 of the 194 establishments from which the information was obtained had flush toilets. Usually separate toilets were provided for the sexes, but 16 canneries did not meet this requirement and 7 others provided toilets only for women. In 60 the occupants of the labor camp, including the children too young to be employed, shared the toilets with the cannery workers. Information was obtained as to the number of toilets in 110 of the 137 canneries that were used by employees only; 45 had less than one toilet for 23 or more persons, a lower standard than that set up in a number of other States.

Washing facilities for cannery employees are required under the Maryland State law, which provides that buildings in which food is canned shall have lavatories "supplied with soap, water, and towels." [22] Reports as to washing facilities were made by 80 canneries in 11 counties and in the city of Baltimore. Only 16 provided soap or towels or both, and only 42 had sinks or receptacles for washing. One Eastern Shore cannery employing 150 workers had 12 faucets for this purpose installed in the workroom, and a smaller Eastern Shore plant had provided an enamel-ware sink with faucets in a shed adjoining the peeling room. Thirty-eight of the 80 canneries had no washing facilities of any kind.

The State Department of Health of Maryland under the law [22a] is given the duty of inspecting factories, canneries, and other establishments and places where food products are manufactured, packed, or sold, and of correcting insanitary conditions in such establishments.

THE LABOR SUPPLY

CHARACTER OF LABOR SUPPLY

The total number of employees in the 211 establishments included in the Children's Bureau special study of child labor in the Maryland canneries (see p. 87) was reported as 16,379, an average number of 78 persons per establishment.[23] (Table 26.) In 73 per cent of the canneries fewer than 100 persons were employed at the height of the canning season. In 64 of the 211 canneries visited in this study fewer than 50 persons were employed, including 19 canneries with less than 25 workers. Twelve of the 211 had 200 or more employees. The Baltimore City canneries were almost all large,

[21] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678.
[22] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (f).
[22a] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678. (See footnote 62, p. 132.)
[23] The number of wage earners reported by the U. S. Bureau of the Census as employed in the canning of fruit and vegetables on the 15th (or nearest representative day) of September, 1925, was 25,897, or an average number of 80 wage earners per establishment for the 322 fruit and vegetable canneries reported by the census for the State. The fact that a larger average number of employees was reported for the Census Bureau establishments than for those visited by the representatives of the Children's Bureau is doubtless due at least in part to the fact that the Federal census statistics for 1925 were collected only from establishments reporting products of $5,000 or more.

11 of the 13 having 100 or more employees, 2 of them between 200 and 300, and 2 others between 300 and 400 each. Harford, Kent, and Anne Arundel Counties had the largest number of small canneries, 35 of the 54 canneries visited in these counties having fewer than 50 employees.

Canneries in the city of Baltimore depend to a large extent upon resident labor, chiefly Polish and Negro. Even in good-sized establishments working throughout the year much of the help is of the casual variety. Methods of recruiting labor for the Baltimore canneries vary. Some canners obtain an adequate supply by employing those who come to the cannery looking for work; others get their workers through row bosses, by advertising, or by telling those they have that more are needed. In several places there is no set daily hour for beginning, the cannery workers gathering in response to the cannery whistle blown when the produce comes in to be packed.

Outside the city of Baltimore most of the Maryland canneries are in or near small towns or villages. Some are in such towns as Salisbury or Cambridge on the Eastern Shore, or in places of 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants, as Westminster in Carroll County, Havre de Grace in Harford County, or Crisfield on the Eastern Shore, but many are in places of less than 500 inhabitants. In many of these sparsely settled communities and in some of the larger ones it is impossible to get sufficient labor locally for work in the canneries during the six to nine weeks of the tomato or corn canning season. Some canners obtain additional help from the immediate neighborhood by sending out trucks every morning through the countryside, returning the workers to their homes at night. Many, including some of those in the larger towns as well as in the villages, supplement what local labor they can obtain by importing workers from Baltimore or from near-by counties for the season and housing them in labor camps on the cannery grounds. Ninety-nine of the 198 canneries outside Baltimore visited in the Children's Bureau inquiry imported migratory workers for the canning season of 1925. In all the counties where visits were made, exclusive of the city of Baltimore and Baltimore County, some of the canneries visited employed migratory workers, but the practice was most common in Cecil, Harford, Queen Anne, Caroline, Kent, and Talbot, counties north of Chesapeake Bay or in the northern section of the Eastern Shore.

Of the 99 canneries using migratory labor, 59 employed white laborers, 35 negro laborers, and 4 both white and negro laborers. Almost all the canners in the upper part of the State (Carroll, Harford, Cecil, and Kent Counties) imported only white workers; in the lower peninsular counties (Dorcester, Wicomico, Worcester, and Somerset) the migratory workers were almost all negroes; in the other counties (Talbot, Caroline, and Queen Anne) workers of both races were brought in for cannery work.

Information was not obtained regarding the total number of white and negro workers employed in the canneries. If the figures for child workers are an index, half the workers were white and half negro. (Table 28.) Among the migratory child workers the white predominated, as 78 per cent were white. Of the local child workers, 58 per cent were negroes.

TABLE 28.—*Race of local and migratory children under 16 years of age employed in canneries in the city of Baltimore and certain counties of Maryland*

County or city	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total			Local			Migratory		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	1,564	778	786	1,234	519	715	330	259	71
Anne Arundel	17	3	14	16	2	14	1	1	
Baltimore (city)	50	40	10	50	40	10			
Baltimore	7	7		7	7				
Caroline	213	125	88	166	103	63	47	22	25
Carroll	164	151	13	141	130	11	23	21	2
Cecil	63	57	6	22	16	6	41	41	
Dorchester	166	66	100	163	63	100	3	3	
Harford	165	139	26	61	38	23	104	101	3
Kent	27	15	12	15	4	11	12	11	1
Queen Anne	90	45	45	56	14	42	34	31	3
Somerset	165	13	152	163	13	150	2		2
Talbot	105	50	55	73	22	51	32	28	4
Wicomico	170	34	136	154	34	120	16		16
Worcester	162	33	129	147	33	114	15		15
	PER CENT[1]			PER CENT OF TOTAL[1]					
Total	100.0	49.7	50.3	78.9	33.2	45.7	21.1	16.6	4.5
Baltimore (city)	100.0	80.0	20.0	100.0	80.0	20.0			
Caroline	100.0	58.7	41.3	77.9	48.4	29.6	22.1	10.3	11.7
Carroll	100.0	92.1	7.9	86.0	79.3	6.7	14.0	12.8	1.2
Cecil	100.0	90.5	9.5	34.9	25.4	9.5	65.1	65.1	
Dorchester	100.0	39.8	60.2	98.2	38.0	60.2	1.8	1.8	
Harford	100.0	84.2	15.8	37.0	23.0	13.9	63.0	61.2	1.8
Queen Anne	100.0	50.0	50.0	62.2	15.6	46.7	37.8	34.4	3.3
Somerset	100.0	7.9	92.1	98.8	7.9	90.9	1.2		1.2
Talbot	100.0	47.6	52.4	69.5	21.0	48.6	30.5	26.7	3.8
Wicomico	100.0	20.0	80.0	90.6	20.0	70.6	9.4		9.4
Worcester	100.0	20.4	79.6	90.7	20.4	70.4	9.3		9.3

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

The migratory workers in the Maryland canneries are usually employed in family groups. All the white migratory labor employed in the canneries visited by the bureau in 1925 came from Baltimore. Most of the negro migratory families lived in Maryland and Virginia. Many came from the southern part of the peninsular counties or from small settlements on Chesapeake Bay; others from Norfolk or from Accomac County in the upper peninsula of Virginia; still others from Baltimore or Philadelphia. A few of the negro families were habitual migrants with no permanent homes. A cannery labor camp on the Eastern Shore was the only home of some negro families; they lived in it most of the year, working in the oyster canneries in Crisfield near by during the winter months. The negro families working in one cannery had migrated from Delaware, where they had been picking apples the preceding autumn, to Norfolk for the oyster season and had come to Maryland in May to pick strawberries. The negro workers in another cannery had left Norfolk earlier in the season to "scratch out" potatoes and had worked their way north for work in the canneries.

These seasonal workers, as in the case of such workers in Delaware canneries (see p. 33) and on Maryland truck farms,[24] are recruited through a row boss, usually if they are white, less commonly if they are colored. In 24 of the 34 cannery labor camps visited in which negro workers were employed, however, an agent was found called a row boss who had been sent into the neighboring negro districts to "round up" workers or had brought them from the negro community of which he was himself a member. Several cannery managers themselves engaged the negro help; several other canneries did no recruiting of negro migratory labor but depended on workers migrating from other places and applying for work.

RECRUITING FAMILY LABOR IN BALTIMORE

The row boss who procures white family labor in Baltimore for the canners is generally a member of the Polish or other foreign community in which the workers live. Of 20 row bosses interviewed in Baltimore, 7 were born in Poland and 2 in Czechoslovakia, and most of the others, although native born, were of Polish descent and could speak Polish. These men worked in the city during the winter months, many as casual laborers like the men whose families they engaged. Nine were laborers or stevedores; the others did various kinds of more skilled work, including 4 who were machinists. Several formerly had been of the rank and file of cannery workers. In the summer they spend two or three months recruiting labor and supervising it in the country. They take their families with them, and their wives and children work in the canneries. The same men usually act as row boss for several consecutive years and sometimes go to the same cannery every summer.

Business between the canner and the migratory workers is transacted through the row boss in the same way in Maryland as in Delaware canneries. (See p. 34.) The row boss explains to prospective workers the terms on which they will be employed at the cannery. Free housing, free transportation, free fuel, advance loans, and plenty of work for the women and children, are among the many inducements that he offers to them. In cases in which the canners and the row bosses who were interviewed had a written agreement the hour and piece rate to be paid the workers was specified, but seldom was there a statement about the housing or water to be provided. A few canners orally promised the row boss to provide medical attention for the workers in case of illness or accident in the cannery. In one camp visited a nurse was in attendance. Transportation free of charge was usually furnished; 34 of 51 canners who employed white migratory labor and gave information on this point paid transportation both to and from the cannery, but 13 paid the fare only to the cannery.

The row boss supervises the workers in camp, assigns them their living quarters on arrival, sees that water, fuel for stoves, lumber for benches, and straw for beds are furnished. He may also make adjustments in connection with their work in the cannery. One, for example, said that he had procured from the canner peeling knives, aprons, and caps for the workers; another had been instrumental in getting better buckets and a better distribution of tomatoes in the workroom.

[24] Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, p. 23. United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 123. Washington, 1923.

Besides such duties many of the Maryland row bosses are also expected to work in the cannery, either at odd jobs when labor is scarce or at some regular work throughout the season.

Frequent misunderstandings arise between row bosses and workers because the former do not keep promises made to prospective workers regarding earnings, continuity of work, and living conditions. Sometimes work is slack and earnings are smaller than the row boss had led the workers to expect. One row boss misunderstood the number of workers needed and brought two extra families, who on account of lack of space had to either sleep outdoors or leave. Sometimes families wishing to leave camp before the end of the season find that the canner refuses to pay return fare as the row boss has promised. In one such case a mother who left the cannery one week before the end of the season because two of her children had contracted typhoid fever was forced to pay her own fare. As the workers have no written agreements with either the canner or the row boss, they have no redress if they do not find on reaching the cannery the conditions they had expected.

Part of the difficulty of enforcing the child labor law in canneries is due to the ignorance of the row boss of the legal regulations and his failure to pass on what he does know and the instructions the canner has given him to the workers. Some canners notify the row boss that children should obtain work certificates in Baltimore before they go to the country and tell them where they can be obtained. Of the 20 row bosses interviewed, 14 stated that they had been told by the canners that the minimum working age was 14 years.

BALTIMORE FAMILIES MIGRATING FOR WORK IN MARYLAND CANNERIES

As in Delaware a special inquiry was made regarding cannery workers whose permanent homes were in Baltimore. The families of 197 of the 252 white migratory children found at work at the time of the cannery visits and those of 5 of the 11 negro migratory children were interviewed in the city soon after their return from the canneries.

In four-fifths of the white families interviewed the fathers were foreign born; 138 were Polish, a few were of other Slavic nationalities, and several were Italian. Work in the canneries was not the chief source of income in most of the families but a means by which the mothers and children could supplement the fathers' earnings. The fathers in nine-tenths of the families were alive and living with their families at the time they were visited in the city, and almost all of these had jobs in the city. One hundred and eight (65 per cent) were unskilled laborers, longshoremen, or factory operatives including four cannery operatives in Baltimore plants. The remainder were engaged in miscellaneous occupations including a small number of skilled workers. Fourteen were carpenters or other kinds of mechanics in the building trades, 1 was a track foreman on a railroad, 1 an assistant superintendent in a factory, and 1 an insurance agent. Although many of the fathers had remained in the city to work while the mothers and children went to the country for cannery work, one-third had accompanied their families and got employment at the cannery.

The mothers in almost all the families had gone to the canneries taking with them their children, often as many as six or seven. Boys and girls seldom went without their mothers or fathers, but 16 had

gone with other relatives or friends, and 6 others, including a 12-year-old boy, had been unaccompanied by an adult.

Many of the families of children who were found at work in canneries had been in the habit of going to the tomato and corn canneries year after year, leaving the city about the middle of August and returning the first part of October. Some also made a practice of migrating about the middle of May for a month or six weeks to pick strawberries or peas on truck farms, and still others of leaving the city about the middle of July to pick beans before going to work in the cannery. The families of the children who were found at work in the Maryland canneries were not in the habit of making migrations for seasonal work outside the State. Only 1 of the 197 white families visited in Baltimore had done so in 1925; this family had gone to Biloxi, Miss., to an oyster cannery. Of the 197 white families three-fifths had worked only in vegetable canneries, on tomatoes, corn, or other vegetables; the remaining two-fifths had also worked on truck farms. More than one-fourth of the families had been to more than one district to work, generally picking strawberries and peas or beans in the early summer and returning afterwards to their city homes to await the opening of the tomato canneries.

Although 50 of the 252 children had never before migrated for cannery or any other work, 146 (59 per cent) had gone to the canneries at least three years (not necessarily consecutive) and 76 (31 per cent) had gone eight or more years. Some had been migrating to canneries or truck farms as long as they could remember—40 children had gone with their families for seasonal work each year since they were born.

As a rule the migratory families were away from their Baltimore homes for cannery and other seasonal work at least two or three months. Of the 252 white children visited in Baltimore, 169 had been absent from home at least eight weeks in the summer of 1925; 83 had been absent 12 weeks or more, including 16 who had been away at least 16 weeks. Seven or eight weeks were usually spent in the cannery districts. Of 212 children who reported the length of time they had spent at the cannery, 173 had stayed at least seven weeks and 43 nine weeks or longer. Some who had worked on corn or corn and beans, as well as tomatoes, had stayed at the cannery at least 10 weeks.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

Maryland, like a number of other States,[25] has lower standards of legal protection as to hours of labor for child workers in the canning industry than in other factory occupations. Canning and packing establishments are exempted from the maximum 8-hour day, 48-hour week, and 6-day week, as well as from the prohibition of night work between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m. that applies to the work of children under 16 in manufacturing and mercantile establishments and in most other occupations, and the 10 hour law for females does not apply to girls in fruit and vegetable canneries.

The age and employment-certificate provisions of the child labor law, however, have been, since 1918, the same for work in canneries as for other occupations. The age minimum is 14, and employment certificates are required for children between 14 and 16. To obtain such a certificate a child must present reliable evidence of age such

[25] Delaware, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, and Utah. (See Appendix II, p. 223.)

as was required under the administration of the former Federal child labor laws and get a certificate from a physician appointed by the issuing officer stating that he is physically fit for employment. In Baltimore completion of the fifth grade is required for work during school hours;[25a] outside Baltimore completion of the seventh grade is required for work during hours that he has to attend school, but this requirement is weakened by the fact that school attendance after the age of 13 is required for only 100 days if the child is employed during the rest of the school year. For work at such times as the child is not required to attend school there is no grade requirement, but the child must be able to read and write simple sentences in English. The law contains certain administrative features necessary for effective certification: The requirement that the child present a promise of employment, that the permit be issued to the employer and be returned by him to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employ, and that the child bring a new promise of employment and get a new certificate when he goes from one position to another.

Provisions that might extend further protection to child workers in canneries are those prohibiting the work of children under 16 "on any machine or machinery operated by power other than foot or hand power" and prohibiting the employment of any girl under 16 in any capacity where her work compels her to remain standing constantly, or of any child under 18 in oiling or cleaning machinery in motion.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

THE WORKING CHILDREN

In 201 of the 211 canneries visited children under 16 years of age were found at work. (Table 26.) These establishments employed 1,564 boys and girls under 16, who constituted 10 per cent of the total number of employees in all the canneries visited. The proportion varied in the different sections of the State included in the inquiry from 2 per cent in the city of Baltimore to 18 per cent in Cecil County. Girls were 56 per cent of the workers under 16, practically the same proportion as were women of the total number of cannery workers. The proportion of girls was larger (61 per cent) among negro than among white children.

More than three-fourths (79 per cent) of the children employed at the time of visit, including 519 (67 per cent) of the 778 white workers and 715 (91 per cent) of the 786 negro workers, were residents of the towns in which the canneries were located. Almost all the local children were native born of native parentage with the exception of a number working in the Baltimore City canneries, who were of Polish extraction. Of the migratory children 78 per cent were white, as compared with 87 per cent of the migratory children working in the Delaware canneries. (See p. 36.) The white migratory children were for the most part, as in Delaware, city children of foreign parents who had migrated to the canneries with their families for the season. All the migratory white children found at work in the Maryland canneries in this investigation were from the city of Baltimore and most of them were of Polish or other Slavic parentage, but a few were of Italian extraction. The homes of the negro migratory chil-

[25a] In 1929 this requirement was raised to completion of the sixth grade. (Laws of 1929, ch. 491.)

dren were scattered; 36 of the 71 who were working in the canneries at the time of the visits came from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, 13 from Virginia, 21 from the cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and 1 from Delaware.

AGES OF CHILDREN AND VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

Although the age minimum for work in canneries, as in other industries, in Maryland since 1918 has been 14 years,[26] children under 14 were found at work in 165 of the 201 canneries in which children under 16 were employed. These included some canneries in each county in which visits were made and also in the city of Baltimore, although the canneries differed in the extent to which they employed underage children. In 81 at least half the children were under 14. Every cannery in four counties (Baltimore, Dorchester, Queen Anne, and Worcester) employed some underage children. (Table 26.)

Six hundred and seventy children (43 per cent of the total number under 16 employed in the canneries visited) were under the legal working age. More than half found at work were under 14 in four counties (Baltimore, Cecil, Kent, and Queen Anne). On the other hand, only 5 of the 50 in the canneries seen in the city of Baltimore were under 14, although the number might have been greater had the visits been made during the season when green beans were being canned, as many young children find work in snipping beans.

Almost as large a proportion of very young children were found at work in Maryland as in Delaware, where the law fixes an age minimum of only 12 (see p. 28). Twelve per cent of the total number of children employed in Maryland as compared with 17 per cent in Delaware were under 12 years of age. These were 181 children, including 110 girls. Among them 16 girls and 12 boys were under 10, including 10 boys and 9 girls of 9 years of age, 5 girls and 1 boy of 8, and 2 girls and 1 boy of 7.[27]

Although negro children more than white were employed below legal working age, 37 per cent of the white child workers as well as 49 per cent of the negro child workers were under 14. (Table 29.)

As in Delaware, migratory children more than local (55 per cent as compared with 39 per cent) were employed contrary to the age standard of the child labor law, and white migratory children considerably more than white local children. Thus, 54 per cent of the white migratory children were under 14 and 20 per cent were under 12, whereas 28 per cent of the white local children were under 14 and 6 per cent under 12. Among the negro children 61 per cent of the migratory workers and 48 per cent of the local workers were under 14.

The study of child labor in Maryland canneries in 1925 covered many of the establishments included in the study of 1918. (See p. 86.) The number of canneries visited was 205 in 1918 and 211 in 1925.

---

[26] Md., Laws of 1918, ch. 495.

[27] In connection with the home visits made for the purpose of verifying the ages of the children found at work in the Maryland canneries visited, information was obtained regarding 56 other children under 16 years of age who were employed on or about the date of the visits in the canneries included in the investigation. Of these, 28 were under 14, 8 (4 of whom were girls) were under 12, and 2 (including 1 girl) were under 10. In addition, of 34 children employed in 5 canneries in which complete study was not possible 20 were under 14. In all, therefore, 718 children under 14 were interviewed who worked in the Maryland canneries. Of these 352 were 13 years of age; 172, 12 years; 107, 11 years; 57, 10 years; 20, 9 years; 7, 8 years; and 3, 7 years.

Children under 16 were employed in both years in nearly the same proportion of the canneries visited (96 per cent in 1918 and 95 per cent in 1925), and in both years they formed nearly the same proportion of the total number of persons employed (11 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). The proportion of canneries employing children under the legal working age was slightly less in 1925 than in 1918 (78 per cent as compared with 84 per cent), but the proportion under 14 among the working children was the same (43 per cent in both years). The most noticeable change was in the employment of very young children, the number under 10 who were found at work in the canneries having declined from 75 to 28 (from 4 per cent to 2 per cent) and the number under 8 from 29 to 3 (from 2 per cent to 0.2 per cent). In 1918, 7 of the children were 6 years of age and 10 were 5 years or younger, whereas in 1925 none was under 7. The reduction in the number of very young children may be attributed at least in part to the three years' operation of the Federal child labor tax law, which by imposing a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of establishments violating the standards of the law made noncompliance prohibitively expensive. The inspections that were made under this law in 1920 (see p. 86), in which 57 per cent of the children under 16 were found to be under legal working age, resulted in the imposition of heavy taxes upon a large number of Maryland canners, and although the law was declared unconstitutional before the taxes were paid, the experience was one not likely to be forgotten quickly.

TABLE 29.—*Race of local and migratory children of specified ages employed in Maryland canneries*

Race of local and migratory children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total	Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	1,564	670	42.8	181	11.6	28	1.8
White	778	286	36.8	83	10.7	17	2.2
Negro	786	384	48.9	98	12.5	11	1.4
Local	1,234	487	39.5	115	9.3	15	1.2
White	519	146	28.1	31	6.0	6	1.2
Negro	715	341	47.7	84	11.7	9	1.3
Migratory	330	183	55.5	66	20.0	13	3.9
White	259	140	54.1	52	20.1	11	4.2
Negro	71	43	60.6	14	19.7	2	2.8

Although the number of children under legal working age found at work in the Maryland canneries in 1925 was very large, undoubtedly the number actually working was larger. In a number of canneries children were seen running away from their work places as the representatives of the bureau entered the cannery, or were seen running out of the side or back doors before permission to enter had been given. In other canneries the presence of many empty places at peeling tables and of empty can lofts at the peak of the busiest time in an unusually busy canning season, indicated the probability that

children had been hurried away from these places as soon as word was received that a visitor was coming. Some children were later interviewed in their homes or in the camps adjoining the cannery who said or whose parents said that they had left or had been sent out of the cannery on the appearance of the bureau agents. Some were seen by the agents and interviewed before they could get away. Others returned to work before the agents left the cannery or were brought to the agents to be interviewed. But in a number of canneries the children did not return, and it was impossible to obtain information about them from the management or from adult workers.

Following are comments bearing on this point contained in the bureau agents' notes:

As we approached the cannery, a shrill sound was heard, and at least 10 young children scampered out of the door and over the railings and ran off into the woods. No information could be obtained from anyone about these children and they could not be found, and only 2 children under 16 were found at work in the cannery.

The first impression on entering the cannery was that nearly everyone was a child. Most of the children ran out as soon as they saw agents and the other workers were too suspicious to give out information about them.

Many places at the peeling tables were vacant. There were few children present and all those were certificated. At the vacant places at the peeling tables there was evidence of recent use, sometime during the day. An effort was made to secure information from the employees, but they seemed particularly reticent and silent, which is not generally the case.

A number of small children were working in the cannery when the visitors entered, but they disappeared in a short time. The names of most of them were later secured from older relatives with whom they were working.

Some children ran out of the cannery when the visitors entered. One little colored boy who had been working as a skin pusher, had run back to the camp and put on a clean shirt so that the agents would not see his soiled shirt and suspect that he had been working. He later admitted that he had been working and had run out.

In a number of cases it was evident that children left the canneries in response to direct instructions from the management, as indicated by the following accounts:

When the agents entered the cannery there were a number of vacant places at the peeling tables and only older girls were at work. After these were interviewed, a visit was made to the can loft. Older boys and men were found engaged in handling the cans. This cannery, under the same management for years, had always employed a great number of children, having a camp attached. Later it developed that the manager, having heard the agents were in the neighborhood, had gone through the cannery and sent out all children under 16 regardless of whether they had certificates on file or not. The mothers of the children in camp frankly stated that the children had worked throughout the tomato season.

One of the owners of the cannery was very much annoyed by the appearance of agents and after he had given permission for inspection to be made was heard to tell the foreman to go into the cannery and advise some of the younger children to leave their places. A number of young children were later rounded up in some of the other parts of the building where they were hiding. One small negro girl, aged 7, was huddled in a corner and insisted that she did not work at the cannery, but the tomato juice on her dress contradicted this, and her mother finally admitted that she stood on a box beside her mother and peeled. The mother said the girl was a "right smart peeler."

The mothers of the children employed in another cannery said that the owner of the establishment had told the women that their children could work in the cannery as long as they were not caught by inspectors. If they were caught and the cannery fined, the

fine would have to be paid by the mothers out of money due them for past work.

On the other hand in a few cases the management not only did not instigate the running out of the children but told them to stay at their work.

Fear of being caught by attendance officers was responsible for the disappearance of some of the children. All but a few canneries were visited after the opening of the schools for white children, which in 1925 opened on September 8 in Baltimore and between September 1 and 15 in the counties. Most of the negro schools opened between the middle and last of September.[28] In one cannery visited on September 18:

> As the agents entered one door they saw a number of children running out another door. These children were all found later at the camp, and many of them came back to work when they found that the agents were not from school and when the Polish row boss felt assured that they would not interfere with the children working. One of the children told the agent that they had been told to run whenever an automobile drove up to the cannery.

In a Harford County cannery visited on September 22:

> The children (all from Baltimore) in a Harford County cannery ran out when the agents appeared. They later told agents that it was the third time they had been scared within two weeks. They knew they should be in school.

In another establishment visited on September 16:

> A great many of the children left their places of work when the agents arrived. Many of these were brought to agents by other children. Some came of their own accord during the noon time. Some had left for home and could not be interviewed. Agent believes that manager had nothing to do with running the children out, but they were frightened and ran of their own accord as they thought the agent was from the school. (The schools in this county opened on September 2.)

The understanding that they should leave the cannery at the appearance of possible inspectors had been so well impressed on the children generally that a number over 14 for whom employment certificates were on file in the cannery office and who were not liable under the attendance law were found to have left.

Some managers said that the children in the canneries were not employed, but were merely playing there. It is a fact that in many canneries young children who do not work are brought in by their mothers (see p. 130) so that they may keep an eye on them while they themselves are at work. But in practically all the cases in which managers claimed that the children seen in the canneries were not working, wherever it was possible to interview either the children or their parents it was admitted that the children had been at work, and in other cases they had been seen working by the visitors or empty places at the peeling tables where they had been seen indicated that they had been working there. No doubt the mothers' desire to keep their children in sight has something to do with the employment of many of the young ones, but the extra money that the mother can make by having her child help her at the peeling table is a great inducement. The custom of using the younger children as "helpers" to the mother antedates the passage of child labor laws affecting canneries in Maryland,[29] and

[28] The negro schools opened on September 28 in Caroline County and on October 1 in Talbot County.
[29] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor), No. 96, September, 1911, pp. 353-354, 466-469.

many women still undertake cannery work on the assumption that their children of all ages will help them. The following quotations from the reports of bureau agents show this tendency and the attitude some employers take toward it:

> Many little children were running around the plant playing and eating. The manager said that it had been impossible to keep the children out of the plant because the mothers insisted that the children come in and work with them if they were tall enough to reach the tables. Those not big enough to work were brought into the plant by them and permitted to play around.

> The owner of the cannery apologized for the large number of small children he had employed at the time of the visit. He said he knew some of them were underage, but he had not wanted to turn them out because the parents were more willing to work if the children were employed.

No special inquiry was made as to the individual canner's policy regarding the employment of children. A few said that they did not hire children under 16, giving such reasons as that certificates were a bother, that help that had to go back to school at the height of the canning season was a nuisance, or that children wasted too much time and material and their work was not satisfactory. In 9 canneries in which children under 16 were found at work the management claimed that none was employed. Five of these canneries were employing children under 14.

One excuse that canners gave for employing children under legal working age was the difficulty of getting certificates. A number of establishments had had children working several weeks before the certificate-issuing officer had come around. (See p. 120.) In some establishments no certificates had been issued until the cannery had been running three or four weeks; in a number no certificates had been issued at all that year up to the time of the bureau survey. The fact that until the children are certificated their employer has really no way of knowing their true ages very naturally encourages the employment of young children, and the inadequacy of the certificating system is probably one of the most influential factors in the wholesale violation of the age provision of the Maryland child labor law in the county canneries. (See pp. 121–125.)

Although an occasional canner would prefer to keep children under 16 out of the canneries if he could, and would probably do so if he had any easy and certain way of determining the ages of children applying for work, the bureau inquiry showed that on the whole few are averse, at least during a busy season like that of 1925, to their employment. Most of them are willing to employ children of 14 and over and few have any objection, as indicated by their statements as well as by the findings of the bureau agents, to the employment of even younger children other than the possibility of being caught in a violation of the law. To a considerable extent, however, the violations found in the Maryland canneries are the result of simple negligence, and the negligent attitude is probably encouraged by the difficulty of obtaining adequate evidence of age for children applying for work.

KINDS OF WORK

Tomato canneries employed 1,366 (87 per cent) of the 1,564 children working at the time of the survey; corn canneries employed 133; and canneries putting up more than one product, 62. (Table 27, p. 88.)

As in Delaware, the largest number of children were tomato peelers, including 763 (88 per cent) of the girls and 165 (24 per cent) of the boys. Few girls did any other kind of work. Twenty-six (3 per cent) were employed in the hand packing of tomatoes; 48 (5 per cent) husked, cut, sorted, or trimmed corn in corn canneries, including 15 who operated a husking machine and 4 who operated a corn-cutting machine; 1 operated a power machine which closed cans in a tomato cannery; 6 sorted beans in a lima-bean cannery, working at a moving conveyor; and 3 snipped string beans. The remaining 36 girls were employed in varied ways, 17 as can girls, 3 as check girls, and the others in general work such as labeling cans. (Table 30.)

TABLE 30.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Maryland canneries*

Product and process, and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	1,564		670		181		28
Total reported	1,558	100.0	669	100.0	181	100.0	28
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	1,028	66.0	492	73.5	145	80.1	21
Peeling	928	59.6	470	70.3	143	79.0	21
Packing	32	2.1	6	.9			
Carrying	44	2.8	7	1.0			
Other	24	1.5	9	1.3	2	1.1	
Corn	79	5.1	23	3.4	8	4.4	5
Husking	43	2.8	16	2.4	8	4.4	5
Cutting	9	.6	1	.1			
Sorting and trimming	21	1.3	5	.7			
Other	6	.4	1	.1			
Green and wax beans: Snipping	3	.2	2	.3	2	1.1	
Lima beans: Sorting	6	.4	1	.1			
General occupations	442	28.4	151	22.6	26	14.4	2
Can boys and girls	264	16.9	99	14.8	19	10.5	1
Line jobs	27	1.7	13	1.9	2	1.1	1
Piling cans in crates	26	1.7	7	1.0	1	0.6	
Packing, piling, stacking filled cans	30	1.9	13	1.9			
Operating closing machine	17	1.1	4	.6	1	.6	
Trucking and carrying	22	1.4	5	.7	2	1.1	
Other	56	3.6	10	1.5	1	.6	
Not reported	6		1				
Boys	681		265		71		12
Total reported	676	100.0	264	100.0	71	100.0	12
Special processes:							
Tomatoes	238	35.2	116	43.9	40	56.3	7
Peeling	165	24.4	98	37.1	38	53.5	7
Packing	6	.9	2	.8			
Carrying	44	6.5	7	2.7			
Other	23	3.4	9	3.4	2	2.8	
Corn	31	4.6	9	3.4	6	8.5	4
Husking	21	3.1	8	3.0	6	8.5	4
Cutting	1	.1					
Sorting and trimming	3	.4					
Other	6	.9	1	.4			

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

TABLE 30.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Maryland canneries*—Con.

Product and process, and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total reported—Continued.							
General occupations	407	60.2	139	52.7	25	35.2	1
Can boy	247	36.5	94	35.6	19	26.8	1
Line jobs	24	3.6	11	4.2	1	1.4	
Piling cans in crates	26	3.8	7	2.7	1	1.4	
Packing, piling, stacking filled cans	30	4.4	13	4.9			
Operating closing machine	16	2.4	3	1.1	1	1.4	
Trucking and carrying	22	3.3	5	1.9	2	2.8	
Other	42	6.2	6	2.3	1	1.4	
Not reported	5		1				
Girls	883		405		110		16
Total reported	882	100.0	405	100.0	110	100.0	16
Special processes:							
Tomato canning	790	89.6	376	92.8	105	95.5	14
Peeling	763	86.5	372	91.9	105	95.5	14
Packing	26	2.9	4	1.0			
Other	1	.1					
Corn canning	48	5.4	14	3.5	2	1.8	1
Husking	22	2.5	8	2.0	2	1.8	1
Cutting	8	.9	1	.2			
Sorting and trimming	18	2.0	5	1.2			
Green and wax beans: Snipping	3	.3	2	.5	2	1.8	
Lima beans: Sorting	6	.7	1	.2			
General occupations	35	4.0	12	3.0	1	.9	1
Can girl	17	1.9	5	1.2			
Line job	3	.3	2	.5	1	.9	1
Operating closing machine	1	.1	1	.2			
Other	14	1.6	4	1.0			
Not reported	1						

The boys did a great many different kinds of work. As in Delaware, the largest number (247, or 37 per cent) were employed as can boys. This work was usually rather light, as can boys handled only empty cans. Some of them trucked empty cans from the freight cars to the storeroom or can loft or unloaded them from freight cars; others were stationed in the hot and steamy can lofts to carry cans and drop them down the chute. The work of many of the 264 boys who were neither peelers nor can boys required considerable strength or was in connection with power machinery; 22 were employed to truck and carry cases, boxes, or filled cans; 30 to stack and pile filled cans; 13 were "skin pushers"—that is, they pushed tomato skins into the gutters with a wooden paddle; 44 were tomato carriers, lifting and carrying heavy pails and in danger of slipping while walking over the wet floors. Thirty-two boys (5 per cent) operated power machines, 16 operating closing machines, not only feeding the caps to the machine but stopping the machine if the cans jammed and adjusting the cans; 7 operated corn-husking machines and 1 a corn-cutting

machine; others ran filling machines, tomato scalders, and labeling or boxing machines. Among the 36 boys who were "taking off" or doing other work in connection with machines were 26 who "piled in"—that is, caught the cans as they came from the closing machine and piled them in crates—and 3 who took off the closed cans but were not required to "pile in." "Piling in" requires strength and constant lifting and stooping with machine-like regularity as the closing machine seals as many as 100 cans a minute. A few boys tended a filling machine or took tomatoes away from a scalding machine. The 92 remaining boys included 24 who were employed "on the line" at various jobs, such as juicing or salting the cans, comparatively light work, and a small number who packed or sorted tomatoes or who worked in corn canneries as bin boys or sorted corn or husked it by hand, and others in various kinds of general work such as stenciling or stamping boxes, sweeping and cleaning in the cannery, carrying empty baskets or piling empty boxes in the yard.

Many of the older children, especially the boys of 14 and 15 years of age, were employed in a large variety of occupations in and about the cannery. Half (51 per cent) of the local white boys, among whom were a relatively large number aged 14 and 15 years, were employed in occupations other than that of peeler or can boy; nearly one-third (31 per cent) of the local negro boys and about one-third of the migratory boys were also employed in miscellaneous work. Although most of the children under 14 were engaged in relatively light work, some of them, especially boys, were on work which was heavy for young children, such as piling cans in crates, carrying buckets of tomatoes, trucking and carrying boxes. Six girls under 14 worked on machines, which in Maryland is illegal for children under 16.

PROHIBITED OR HAZARDOUS EMPLOYMENT

Fifty-two children (3 per cent of those for whom information as to occupation was obtained) were power-machine operators, an occupation specifically prohibited under the provision of the Maryland child labor law forbidding the employment of children under 16 "on any machine or machinery operated by power and other than foot or hand power."[30] Of the 52, 23 operated corn-husking machines, 17 closing machines, 5 corn-cutting machines, and 7 labeling or filling machines. Ten were under 14, including 3 boys and 1 girl operating closing machines and 5 girls operating corn huskers. In addition to the above, 26 children were in occupations such as taking filled cans off the closing machine and piling them in crates, watching cans on the filling machines, and attending the scalding machine. Other children (56) were in various occupations at the moving belts or "on the line," such as sorting or inspecting tomatoes or corn, juicing, salting, or inspecting cans.

Seven hundred and seventeen of the 883 girls working in the canneries visited were standing at their work because no seats were provided, a violation of the provision of the child labor law that prohibits the employment of girls under 16 in any capacity where such employment compels them to remain standing constantly.[30] Most of these girls were peelers or packers. Many of the peelers and packers and also the boys who carried pails of tomatoes or cleaned the floors and pushed skins into the drains or took off tomatoes from

[30] Md., Laws of 1912, ch. 731, secs. 7, 23, as amended by Laws of 1916, ch. 222, secs. 7, 23.

the end of the scalders, were obliged to stand or to walk all day on wet and slippery floors, a hazardous element in their employment but not one taken special cognizance of under the law.

Several accidents to children were reported, both to those employed in prohibited occupations or in close contact with machinery and also to children not themselves engaged in employment usually considered hazardous. A 15-year-old boy operating a closing machine had had his third finger cut off at the first joint. A 13-year-old boy, while taking filled cans from the end of the line and piling them in crates, had slipped on a wet floor, catching the first two fingers of his right hand in the machinery. The nail on his index finger was shaved off and the next finger severely cut, and he had been unable to work for the rest of the season. The trousers of a can boy standing too near a filling machine had been caught in the gear wheel and his leg injured. A 12-year-old girl, while cutting corn by hand, was jabbed in the leg by the pitchfork of a man pitching corn husks; five months afterwards her leg was still stiff. A 13-year-old boy in a cannery, though not working at the time, was caught in a revolving chain on an elevator, so that a toe had to be amputated.

Several other accidents to children in Maryland canneries other than those visited were reported in the newspapers during the summer of the survey, but the details of the accidents were not learned. One child was said to have been killed and four other children, three aged 10 and one 9 years, badly injured as a result of the explosion of a steam boiler. In another cannery a 13-year-old boy was fatally injured when his clothing caught and he was drawn into the machinery.

HOURS OF WORK

Fruit and vegetable canners in Maryland are under no legal obligation to keep time records as the hours of work in canneries are not regulated.[31] Where records are kept, it is usually only for workers on an hourly or other time basis, and in most canneries these constitute less than half the employees. Even for time workers satisfactory records (that is, records showing the hour of beginning and of ending work and the time off for lunch) were found in only 53 of the 201 canneries in which children were at work. Some other sort of time record for the hourly workers was kept in about 113 other establishments, in most cases a record merely of the total hours worked by such employees each day. Time records of some kind were found for a few pieceworkers, but for most pieceworkers information as to hours worked was furnished by parents, employers, or other adults, or in a very few cases, where no information could be obtained from parents or other adult witnesses, by the child concerned.

Work in canneries is specifically exempted from provisions of the State child labor law applying to manufacturing and mercantile establishments and to most other occupations (see p. 97), as it is also from the 10-hour law for women.[32] With no restriction on whatever hours such a highly seasonal industry may appear to require of women and children, it is not surprising that children in the canneries have long working days. All but 3 of the 201 establishments

[31] All canning and packing establishments are exempted from the hour regulations for children under 16; fruit and vegetable canneries are exempted from the hour regulations for females.

[32] The exemptions to the hour regulations for female employees extend only to fruit and vegetable canneries.

visited that employed minors under 16 had some who were employed for more than an 8-hour day—prohibited for child workers in other manufacturing occupations in Maryland; 179 had child workers employed 10 hours or longer and 63,12 hours or longer.

Daily hours.

Information as to daily hours of work was obtained for all but 9 of the 1,564 children under 16 found at work, including 32 whose working hours were irregular. Almost all (97 per cent) of the 1,523 children for whom definite hours were reported worked more than 8 hours a day. The most usual number of daily hours, reported by 708 children, was 10; 1,155 (76 per cent) worked 10 hours or more, 281 (19 per cent) 12 hours or more, 111 (7 per cent) 14 hours or more, and 37, 16 hours or more up to 20 hours. (Table 31.)

TABLE 31.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by local and migratory children under 16 years of age of specified race in Maryland canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total			Local			Migratory		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	1,564	778	786	1,234	519	715	330	259	71
Total reported	1,523	757	766	1,206	507	699	317	250	67
8 hours and under	51	24	27	49	22	27	2	2	----
Over 8 hours	1,472	733	739	1,157	485	672	315	248	67
10 hours and over	1,155	617	538	871	385	486	284	232	52
12 hours and over	281	224	57	170	119	51	111	105	6
14 hours and over	111	101	10	58	50	8	53	51	2
16 hours and over	37	37	----	26	26	----	11	11	----
Irregular	32	18	14	21	9	12	11	9	2
Not reported	9	3	6	7	3	4	2	----	2
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION[1]								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
8 hours and under	3.3	3.2	3.5	4.1	4.3	3.9	0.6	0.8	----
Over 8 hours	96.7	96.8	96.5	95.9	95.7	96.1	99.4	99.2	100.0
10 hours and over	75.8	81.5	70.2	72.2	75.9	69.5	89.6	92.8	77.6
12 hours and over	18.5	29.6	7.4	14.1	23.5	7.3	35.0	42.0	9.0
14 hours and over	7.3	13.3	1.3	4.8	9.9	1.1	16.7	20.4	3.0
16 hours and over	2.4	4.9	----	2.2	5.1	----	3.5	4.4	----

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The counties varied in the extent to which children were employed in the canneries for excessive hours. In Carroll and Cecil Counties, for example, 32 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively, of the children had worked 14 hours or more a day, whereas in the city of Baltimore, and in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Dorchester, Somerset, and Worcester Counties, no evidence was obtained that any children were employed for as long as 14 hours. Carroll County, where most of the children were employed in corn canneries, had the largest proportion of children working excessive hours, 18 per cent having

worked 16 hours or more a day, as compared with 2 per cent of all the children in the State for whom information was obtained.

Boys as a rule worked longer hours than girls. But a great many girls had long hours; 36 of the 111 children working 14 hours or more a day, and 7 of the 37 working 16 hours or more, were girls. (Table 32.) Migratory children had longer hours than local children; 35 per cent of the former and 14 per cent of the latter had worked at least 12 hours a day. White children in the migratory group worked the longest hours—42 per cent had worked 12 hours or more, and 20 per cent, as compared with 7 per cent of all the children for whom specified hours of work were reported, had worked at least 14 hours. In both the local and migratory groups negro children worked shorter hours than white; 7 per cent of all the negro children worked 12 hours or more, compared with 30 per cent of the white, and 1 per cent at least 14 hours compared with 13 per cent.

TABLE 32.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Maryland canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years		Under 10 years[1]
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	
Total	1,564		670		181		28
Total reported	1,523	100.0	634	100.0	153	100.0	20
8 hours or less	511	3.3	31	4.9	13	8.5	2
Over 8 hours	1,472	96.7	603	95.1	140	91.5	18
10 hours and over	1,155	75.8	474	74.8	118	77.1	15
12 hours and over	281	18.5	107	16.9	22	14.4	4
14 hours and over	111	7.3	33	5.2	9	5.9	3
16 hours and over	37	2.4	7	1.1			
Irregular	32		28		23		7
Not reported	9		8		5		1
Boys	681		265		71		12
Total reported	667	100.0	254	100.0	65	100.0	10
8 hours or less	22	3.3	12	4.7	5	7.7	1
Over 8 hours	645	96.7	242	95.3	60	92.3	9
10 hours and over	527	79.0	195	76.8	51	78.5	7
12 hours and over	155	23.2	58	22.8	11	16.9	1
14 hours and over	75	11.2	19	7.5	4	6.2	1
16 hours and over	30	4.5	6	2.4			
Irregular	11		9		6		2
Not reported	3		2				
Girls	883		405		110		16
Total reported	856	100.0	380	100.0	88	100.0	10
8 hours or less	29	3.4	19	5.0	8	9.1	1
Over 8 hours	827	96.6	361	95.0	80	90.9	9
10 hours and over	628	73.4	279	73.4	67	76.1	8
12 hours and over	126	14.7	49	12.9	11	12.5	3
14 hours and over	36	4.2	14	3.7	5	5.7	2
16 hours and over	7	.8	1	.3			
Irregular	21		19		17		5
Not reported	6		6		5		1

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

A large number of the children working long hours were below the minimum age fixed by the Maryland child labor law for work in canneries, some of them considerably below it. Of those working more than 8 hours a day 603 were under 14 years of age, 140 (including 80 girls) being under 12, and 18 (including 9 girls) being under 10. Many of these younger children worked very long hours. Of the 181 children under 12, 118 worked 10 hours or more, and 22 worked 12 hours of more; 9 children from 8 to 11 years of age worked 14 or 15 hours a day.

Corn huskers, can boys and girls, and general workers—chiefly in machine operations or in jobs in connection with machinery—worked the longest hours. Peelers worked shorter hours than children in other occupations, only 11 per cent reporting a working day of 12 hours or more as compared with 18 per cent of the total number employed, 33 per cent of the huskers, 27 per cent of the can boys and girls, and 31 per cent of the children in miscellaneous work.

Weekly hours.

Information from time records as to weekly hours of work could be obtained for only 270 of the 1,564 children. (Table 33.) Of these 185 (69 per cent) had worked more than 48 hours a week and 117 (43 per cent) at least 60 hours, including 40 boys and 14 girls who had worked 70 hours or longer. Among them were 13 boys and 2 girls who had worked between 80 and 90 hours. At least one working day of 14 hours or longer was recorded for 52 of the 117 children and one of at least 16 hours for 29. The children for whom weekly hours were reported were older than the group as a whole, but for many of the younger children a long working week was recorded. Of the children under 14, 70 per cent worked more than 48 hours and 46 per cent 60 or more. Five boys under 12 worked at least 60 hours a week, of whom 3 had worked 70 hours or longer.

The small group for whom information as to weekly hours was obtained was not representative of the cannery workers as a whole. In the first place, 84 per cent were boys, whereas only 44 per cent of the total number employed were boys; secondly, most of them were in work paid for on a time basis, including chiefly the so-called "general" occupations, whereas the majority were on piecework jobs, such as peeling, sorting, and packing tomatoes (weekly hours were reported, for example, for 129 of the 264 can boys and girls, but for only 3 of the 928 peelers); and thirdly, they worked longer daily hours than the employed children as a whole, 47 per cent as compared with 19 per cent of the total number reporting 12 hours or more.

As an example of the hours that children may work at the height of the tomato-canning season exact time records kept by the cannery for 3 can boys employed in a Queen Anne County cannery and paid by the hour may be cited for the week preceding the interview.

	Total daily hours
Friday—4.30–7 a. m., 7.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 12.30 p. m.–7 p. m	13½
Saturday—4.30–7 a. m., 7.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 12.30 p. m.–3.30 p. m	10
Monday—6.30 a. m.[33]–12 p. m., 12.30–5.30 p. m., 6–9 p. m	13½
Tuesday—6.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 12.30–7 p. m	12
Wednesday—6.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 12.30–5.30 p. m., 6–9 p. m	13½
Thursday—6.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 12.30–7 p. m	12
Total weekly hours	74½

[33] Six a. m for one boy, making 14 hours for the day.

TABLE 33.—*Number of hours of work in a typical week of boys and girls of specified ages employed in Maryland canneries*

Number of hours of work in a typical week and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed					
	Total		Under 14 years		Under 12 years [1]	Under 10 years [1]
	Number	Per cent distribution [1]	Number	Per cent distribution [1]		
Total	1,564		670		181	28
Total reported	270	100.0	80	100.0	12	
48 hours and under	85	31.4	24	30.0	4	
Over 48 hours	185	68.5	56	70.0	8	
60 hours and over	117	43.3	37	46.3	5	
70 hours and over	54	20.0	18	22.5	3	
80 hours and over	15	5.6	1	1.2		
90 hours and over	3	1.1				
Not reported	1,294		590		169	28
Boys	681		265		71	12
Total reported	228	100.0	66	100.0	12	
48 hours and under	77	33.8	20	30.3	4	
Over 48 hours	151	66.2	46	69.7	8	
60 hours and over	93	40.8	28	42.4	5	
70 hours and over	40	17.5	14	21.2	3	
80 hours and over	13	5.7	1	1.5		
90 hours and over	3	1.3				
Not reported	453		199		59	12
Girls	883		405		110	16
Total reported	42		14			
48 hours and under	8		4			
Over 48 hours	34		10			
60 hours and over	24		9			
70 hours and over	14		4			
80 hours and over	2					
Not reported	841		391		110	16

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

The parent of one of these boys, a migratory worker from Baltimore, said when interviewed that the boy had worked in the cannery 3 nights a week for 4 weeks. Two other children (girls of 12 and 13 years old) in a cannery employing 7 children under 16, were peelers, and therefore had no time records, but presumably they worked the regular hours of the cannery, as according to the management the children all worked the regular hours for adult workers. The mother of one of these girls, also from Baltimore, said that she had worked 3 nights a week for 3 weeks from 7 to 9 p. m.

A corn cannery, which puts up beans and peas also at other seasons, was found to have time records for all the 17 children under 16 whom it employed. For the 11 local children the records showed the hour of beginning and of ending work and the time off for lunch, but for the 6 Baltimore children they showed only total daily hours worked. The weekly hours of the local workers, who were employed the full 6-day week, ranged from 72½ to more than 90 hours.[34] A typical week, that

[34] The time records showed 95 hours as the time worked by one child, a boy of 14, in 6 days, but made no allowance for any stop for lunch or supper, so that the time actually worked was probably nearer 90 than 95 hours. In the week for which the time record was transcribed this child worked as follows; Tuesday, 11 a. m.–1.30 a. m.; Wednesday, 7 a. m.–2.30 a. m.; Thursday, 7 a. m.–3 a. m.; Friday, 11 a. m.–2 a. m.; Saturday, 8 a. m.–8 p. m ; Monday, 1 p. m.–3 a. m.

of a girl of 14, who although her employment certificate stated she was a "helper," actually operated a husking machine, an illegal occupation for a child of her age (see p. 98), was as follows:

	Total daily hours
Monday—10 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–6 p. m., 7–12.30 a. m. Tuesday	12½
Tuesday—7 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–6 p. m., 7–10.30 p. m.	13½
Wednesday—7 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–6 p. m., 7–12 a. m. Thursday	15
Thursday—7 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–6 p. m., 7–12 a. m. Friday	15
Friday—9 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–6 p. m., 7–11 p. m.	12
Saturday—7.30 a. m.–12 p. m., 1–5.30 p. m.	9
Total weekly hours	77

Hours for the 6 workers from Baltimore, 2 of whom were girls, were longer: 2 had a working week of 87 hours, 2 of 88 hours, and 2 of 90 hours each. Following is the record of the hours worked by the 4 children working 87 and 88 hours:

	Total daily hours
Friday	15 hours.
Saturday	8½ hours.
Monday	14 hours.
Tuesday	16½ hours.
Wednesday	16 hours.
Thursday	17 or 18 hours.
Total weekly hours	87 or 88.

Night work.

Taking as a standard the hours between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. during which the former Federal child labor law prohibited the work of children in manufacturing establishments, 516 of the 1,564 children, more than half of them girls, had been employed at night on one or more nights during the season of this survey. A few of the night workers were reported as going to work between 5 and 6 a. m., but most of them were employed after 7 p. m.

Children who had worked at night included 50 per cent of those in migratory families and 29 per cent of the others. (Table 34.) More of the white children (47 per cent) than of the negro children (19 per cent) had worked at night, and more of the migratory white children (62 per cent) than of any others. In 94 of the 201 canneries visited in which children were employed some children had done night work during the season. Huskers, can boys and girls, and miscellaneous workers (among the boys chiefly those working on or in connection with machinery and among the girls chiefly packers) reported night work more frequently than children doing other kinds of work. Night work was in general more common in corn than in tomato canneries; it was found in two-thirds (10 of 15) of the corn canneries visited but in only two-fifths (76 of 185) of the tomato canneries. Sixty-two per cent of the children in corn canneries and 28 per cent of those in tomato canneries had done night work.

The number of nights worked ranged from 1 or 2 to 30 or more, or what was reported more frequently "every night for a month at the height of the season." Fifty-three per cent of the night workers had worked at night at least six times during the season. Night work not only was more common among migratory children than among children who lived in the neighborhood of the canneries, but also night workers in the migratory group had worked more nights than those among the local children; 70 per cent of the former as

compared with 35 per cent of the latter had worked six nights or more.

TABLE 34.—*Local and migratory boys and girls of specified ages employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in Maryland canneries*

Age and sex	Children under 16 years employed											
	Total				Local				Migratory			
	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Not employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.
		Number	Per cent [1]			Number	Per cent [1]			Number	Per cent [1]	
Total	1564	516	33.0	1048	1234	352	28.5	882	330	164	49.7	166
Under 8 years	3	----	----	3	3	----	----	3	----	----	----	----
Under 10 years	28	6	----	22	15	1	----	14	13	5	----	8
Under 12 years	181	45	24.9	136	115	18	15.7	97	66	27	49.9	39
Under 14 years	670	200	29.9	470	487	117	24.0	370	183	83	45.4	100
14 years, under 16	894	316	35.3	578	747	235	31.5	512	147	81	55.1	66
Boys	681	247	36.3	434	531	169	31.8	362	150	78	52.0	72
Under 8 years	1	----	----	1	1	----	----	1	----	----	----	----
Under 10 years	12	3	----	9	5	1	----	4	7	2	----	5
Under 12 years	71	22	31.0	49	45	10	----	35	26	12	----	14
Under 14 years	265	91	34.3	174	182	47	25.8	135	83	44	53.0	39
14 years, under 16	416	156	37.5	260	349	122	35.0	227	67	34	50.7	33
Girls	883	269	30.5	614	703	183	26.0	520	180	86	47.8	94
Under 8 years	2	----	----	2	2	----	----	2	----	----	----	----
Under 10 years	16	3	----	13	10	----	----	10	6	3	----	3
Under 12 years	110	23	20.9	87	70	8	11.4	62	40	15	----	25
Under 14 years	405	109	26.9	296	305	70	23.0	235	100	39	39.0	61
14 years, under 16	478	160	33.5	318	398	113	28.4	285	80	47	58.8	33

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

From two to four hours beginning between 6 and 7 p. m. was the most usual time for working at night; 37 per cent reported from two to three hours and the same proportion from three to four hours, beginning at that time. But 74 children (15 per cent) had worked four hours or more after 7 p. m., a few as many as six or eight hours, and 100 children (20 per cent) had worked until 11 p. m. or later. Fifty-eight children had worked till midnight or later, in one case until 3 a. m. Forty-seven of these 58 children worked in 11 canneries in Carroll County, 14 of them in one establishment; the remaining 11 worked in four other counties.

Many of the children working at night were under the legal working age. Two hundred were under 14 years, 45 were under 12, and 10 under 10. (Table 34.)

The following are instances of the more arduous night work reported for children:

In one cannery three peelers (two of them girls aged 10 and 12, respectively) had worked every night for eight weeks from 6.30 to 10 p. m., according to their mothers. They were migratory workers from Baltimore.

An 11-year-old boy from Baltimore, a peeler, had worked every night for four weeks from 7 to 9, and sometimes from 10 to 5 a. m. He had worked as long as 13 hours in one day.

A 10-year-old can boy from Baltimore had worked every night from 7 to 11 p. m. or midnight for four weeks steadily, according to his mother. He also began work at 5.30 on two days in the same week as shown by the time records of the cannery.

Two girls and two boys had worked steadily in a corn cannery every night throughout the season. One of the boys, 14 years of age, sorted corn on the line until 11 or 12, sometimes as late as 2 a. m. His time record showed 87 hours in one week, including one day of 17 hours. The other boy, 15 years of age, husked corn usually until 12 p. m. His time record showed a week of 88 hours, including one day of 17 hours. The two girls, both aged 14 and both corn cutters, worked until 11 or 12, sometimes as late as 2, and had a time record of 87 hours a week, with at least one 17-hour day, and 88 hours a week and an 18-hour day, respectively.

A number of children had worked in a corn cannery from 7 p. m. to 4.30 a. m. at the end of a work day commencing at 7 a. m. and ending at 6 p. m., with an hour off for lunch, making a total working day of 19½ hours.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Cannery work interfered with the school attendance both of children who lived in the vicinity of the canneries and of those in migratory families. The Maryland county schools for white children opened between the first and the middle of September the year of the Children's Bureau survey, and most of the schools for negro children opened about two weeks later. The great majority of the canneries were visited after the opening of the schools for white children, and most of the children found at work were employed a full day in the canneries and did not attend school. In one town it was stated that the school was being closed at 12 in order to let children work, as they were needed in the canneries.

The school attendance of the children who migrate for cannery work is necessarily interrupted. The Baltimore public schools opened on September 8 the year of the survey, but the migratory families do not ordinarily leave the canneries before the first or second week in October, so that the children do not return to the city until three or four weeks after the opening of the city schools. Ninety-six per cent of the 245 white migratory children for whom the information was obtained had returned to their Baltimore homes at least three weeks, and 57 per cent at least four weeks, after school had opened. Some of those who work in canneries leave the city for work on truck farms in the early summer and lose time at the end as well as at the beginning of the school term. Seventy-three of the 245 had left Baltimore before school closed the year of the cannery visits, among whom were 49 who had left at least four weeks before the end of the term. No special inquiry was made as to the school attendance of the 71 negro children in the migratory families, but in all probability the migration for cannery and other work had interferred with their schooling at least as much as in the case of the white children. The migratory children, both those who work in the canneries and their younger brothers and sisters, go year after year to the cannery districts, and although the local schools are open a large part of their sojourn they do not attend the local schools.

Maryland cannery children were found to be unusually backward in school as compared with those in the other States studied. Information as to their last school grade was ascertained for 1,472 (94 per cent) of those found at work in the canneries. (Table 35.) Of these, 414 (28 per cent) had not reached the fifth grade, including 197 chil-

dren who had not passed the third. Among the latter were 55 children of 14 and 15 years, and 65 of 12 and 13. Only one-third of the children had either attended or completed the seventh or a higher grade, although more than half of them were at least 14 years of age and according to average standards would be expected to have completed at least the seventh grade (see footnote 18a, p. 47); and only about one-eighth had attended or completed the eighth or a higher grade, although more than one-fourth were 15 years of age and would be expected to have completed at least the eighth grade. Only 61 of the 14 and 15 year old children had attended high school.

TABLE 35.—*Last school grade attended or completed by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Maryland canneries*

Grade and sex	Children under 16 years employed						
	Total	10 years and under	11 years	12 years	13 years	14 years	15 years
Total	1,564	81	100	157	332	475	419
Total reported	1,472	75	93	146	314	449	395
Under fourth grade	197	47	30	30	35	29	26
Fourth grade	217	15	24	34	56	59	29
Fifth grade	279	8	24	42	66	71	68
Sixth grade	292	3	11	27	78	93	80
Seventh grade	301	2	4	10	59	130	96
Eighth grade	117			3	12	46	56
Ninth grade	54				8	19	27
Tenth grade	13					2	11
Eleventh grade	2						2
Not reported	92	6	7	11	18	26	24
Boys	681	36	35	53	141	209	207
Total reported	634	35	30	48	134	193	194
Under fourth grade	93	23	13	9	20	14	14
Fourth grade	104	5	8	11	32	30	18
Fifth grade	106	3	2	17	22	27	35
Sixth grade	128	2	5	7	32	42	40
Seventh grade	118	2	2	3	21	51	39
Eighth grade	54			1	6	21	26
Ninth grade	22				1	7	14
Tenth grade	7					1	6
Eleventh grade	2						2
Not reported	47	1	5	5	7	16	13
Girls	883	45	65	104	191	266	212
Total reported	838	40	63	98	180	256	201
Under fourth grade	104	24	17	21	15	15	12
Fourth grade	113	6	16	23	24	29	11
Fifth grade	173	4	22	25	44	44	33
Sixth grade	164	1	6	20	46	51	40
Seventh grade	183		2	7	38	79	57
Eighth grade	63			2	6	25	30
Ninth grade	32				7	12	13
Tenth grade	6					1	5
Not reported	45	5	2	6	11	10	11

The negro children were more backward than the white. Of the 755 whose grades were reported, 38 per cent, including 105 of those who were 14 or 15 years old, had not reached the fifth grade. Only 23 per cent had attended the seventh or a higher grade, though 51 per cent were at least 14 years of age, and only 8 per cent had

attended or completed at least the eighth grade, though 24 per cent were 15 years of age. The negro migratory children were especially backward in school, and only 4 of the 28 children of 14 and 15 years had reached the seventh or a higher grade.

The migratory white children living in Baltimore, though they had had the advantages of attending city schools, had made less satisfactory progress than white children whose homes were in towns or villages in the vicinity of the canneries. (Table 36.) Eighteen per cent of the 110 white migratory workers 14 and 15 years of age, compared with 27 per cent of the 345 white children of these ages who lived outside Baltimore and worked in canneries near their homes, had attended the eighth or a higher grade, and only 44 per cent, compared with 60 per cent, had attended even the seventh or a higher grade. (Table 37.) Forty-five per cent of the white migratory children under 14, compared with only 26 per cent among white resident children under 14, had not reached the fifth grade. This difference is only partly accounted for by the fact that the migratory group contained a larger number of children under 12 years of age.

TABLE 36.—*Last school grade attended or completed by local and migratory children under 16 years of age of specified race employed in Maryland canneries*

Grade	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total	White	Negro	Local			Migratory		
				Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	1,564	778	786	1,234	519	715	330	259	71
Total reported	1,472	717	755	1,163	478	685	309	239	70
Under fourth grade	197	56	141	145	27	118	52	29	23
Under sixth grade	693	248	445	516	130	386	177	118	59
Under eighth grade	1,286	593	693	1,003	379	624	283	214	69
Eighth grade and over	186	124	62	160	99	61	26	25	1
Ninth grade and over	69	48	21	68	47	21	1	1	----
Not reported	92	61	31	71	41	30	21	20	1
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under fourth grade	13.4	7.8	18.7	12.5	5.6	17.2	16.8	12.1	32.9
Under sixth grade	47.1	34.6	58.9	44.4	27.2	56.4	57.3	49.4	84.3
Under eighth grade	87.4	82.7	91.8	86.2	79.3	91.1	91.6	89.5	98.6
Eighth grade and over	12.6	17.3	8.2	13.8	20.7	8.9	8.4	10.5	1.4
Ninth grade and over	4.7	6.7	2.8	5.8	9.8	3.1	.3	.4	----

TABLE 37.—*Last school grade attended or completed by 14 and 15 year old local and migratory children of specified race in Maryland canneries*

Grade	Children under 16 years employed								
	Total	White	Negro	Local			Migratory		
				Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
	NUMBER								
Total	894	491	403	747	373	374	147	118	29
Total reported	844	456	388	705	345	360	139	111	28
Under fourth grade	55	13	42	45	10	35	10	3	7
Fourth grade	88	25	63	72	17	55	16	8	8
Fifth grade	139	63	76	107	40	67	32	23	9
Sixth grade	173	99	74	143	71	72	30	28	2
Seventh grade	226	144	82	195	115	80	31	29	2
Eighth grade	102	68	34	83	49	34	19	19	----
Ninth grade	46	35	11	46	35	11	----	----	----
Tenth grade	13	7	6	12	6	6	1	1	----
Eleventh grade	2	2	----	2	2	----	----	----	----
Not reported	50	35	15	42	28	14	8	7	1
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION[1]								
Total reported	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(1)
Under fourth grade	6.5	2.9	10.8	6.4	2.9	9.7	7.2	2.7	----
Fourth grade	10.4	5.5	16.2	10.2	4.9	15.3	11.5	7.2	----
Fifth grade	16.5	13.8	19.6	15.2	11.6	18.6	23.0	20.7	----
Sixth grade	20.5	21.7	19.1	20.3	20.6	20.0	21.6	25.2	----
Seventh grade	26.8	31.6	21.1	27.7	33.3	22.2	22.3	26.1	----
Eighth grade	12.1	14.9	8.8	11.8	14.2	9.4	13.7	17.1	----
Ninth grade	5.5	7.7	2.8	6.5	10.1	3.1	----	----	----
Tenth grade	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.7	.7	.9	----
Eleventh grade	.2	.4	----	.3	.6	----	----	----	----

[1] Per cent distribution not shown where base is less than 50.

Although the white local children had made better school progress than either white migratory children or negro children, they had made less satisfactory progress than children working in canneries in other States. Only 27 per cent of the white local children of 14 and 15 years of age in Maryland canneries had reached the eighth or a higher grade, compared with 38 per cent of the same group in Delaware, and 70 per cent of the cannery workers of 14 and 15 years of age in Indiana, 83 per cent in Michigan, and 87 per cent in Wisconsin, practically all of whom in each of these States were white and lived in the vicinity of the canneries.

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

Employment certificates are required under the Maryland child labor law for all children between 14 and 16 employed in canneries. Certificates were on file in the canneries visited for only 639 of the 1,564 children; 925 were without them. (Table 38.) In 76 of the 201 establishments in which children under 16 were employed, not a certificate was on file. Only 15 had them on file for all the children. In 9 of these some of the children were under 14 and so not legally entitled to certificates at all, and in 11 others the only

children for whom certificates were filed were found on investigation to be under 14 years of age, the legal minimum for employment. In all, 87 establishments had certificates on file for 256 children (40 per cent of all the children who had certificates) under legal working age.

TABLE 38.—*Number of canneries visited employing children under 16 years of age, number employing children under 16 years of age without employment certificates, number of children of specified ages employed, and number of specified ages employed with and without employment certificates in canneries in the city of Baltimore and certain counties of Maryland*

County or city	Canneries visited employing children under 16 years		Children under 16 years employed								
			Under 16 years			14 years, under 16			Under 14 years		
	Total	Employing children under 16 years without certificates	Total	Without certificates		Total	Without certificates		Total	With certificates	
				Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Total	201	185	1,564	925	59.1	894	511	57.2	670	256	38.2
Anne Arundel	6	5	17	16	------	12	11	------	5	------	------
Baltimore (city)	12	10	50	24	48.0	45	20	------	5	1	------
Baltimore	1	1	7	7	------	2	2	------	5	------	------
Caroline	21	21	213	108	50.7	113	61	54.0	100	53	53.0
Carroll	18	16	164	92	56.1	107	54	50.5	57	19	33.3
Cecil	6	6	63	32	50.8	27	12	------	36	16	------
Dorchester	15	13	166	73	44.0	89	42	47.2	77	46	59.7
Harford	35	32	165	89	53.9	96	45	46.9	69	25	36.2
Kent	6	6	27	27	------	11	11	------	16	------	------
Queen Anne	9	9	90	44	48.9	43	22	------	47	25	------
Somerset	22	19	165	109	66.1	96	62	64.6	69	22	31.9
Talbot	15	14	105	70	66.7	62	42	67.7	43	15	------
Wicomico	19	18	170	87	51.2	97	44	45.4	73	30	41.1
Worcester	16	15	162	147	90.7	94	83	88.3	68	4	5.9

In three counties (Anne Arundel, Baltimore, and Kent) in which 13 canneries were visited, a certificate was found on file for only one child. In Worcester County, no certificates were found for 147 of the 162 children found at work; 12 of the 16 canneries visited had none. (Table 38.) Dorchester County had the largest percentage of children with certificates, 56 per cent, and was the only county in which certificates for at least some of the children employed were found on file in all the canneries visited. About half the children under 16 had certificates in the city of Baltimore (52 per cent, employed in 10 of the 12 canneries employing children), in Queen Anne County (51 per cent, in 7 of the 9 canneries), in Caroline County (49 per cent, in 17 of the 21 canneries), and in Cecil County (31 of the 63 children, in 5 of the 6 canneries). The percentage of children below the legal working age who had been certificated as between 14 and 16 years of age varied from 1 of the 26 children for whom certificates were on file in the canneries visited in the city of Baltimore to approximately half the children certificated (50 per cent, 51 per cent, and 54 per cent, respectively) in three counties, Dorchester, Caroline, and Queen Anne.

White children more generally than negro had obtained certificates to work. (Table 39.) Among the whites more of the migratory than of the local children had obtained them, but among the negroes even fewer of the migratory than of the others were certificated. Forty-six per cent of the white migratory workers, but 73 per cent of the negro migratory workers, were without them. Certificates were not on file for 54 per cent of the local white children working in the canneries, and for 66 per cent of the local negro children.

TABLE 39.—*Race of local and migratory children of specified ages employed with and without employment certificates in Maryland canneries*

Race of local and migratory children	Children under 16 years employed								
	Under 16 years			14 years, under 16			Under 14 years		
	Total	Without certificates		Total	Without certificates		Total	With certificates	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent [1]		Number	Per cent [1]
Total	1,564	925	59.1	894	511	57.2	670	256	38.2
White	778	398	51.2	492	233	47.4	286	121	42.3
Negro	786	527	67.0	402	278	69.2	384	135	35.2
Local	1,234	754	61.1	747	431	57.7	487	164	33.7
White	519	279	53.8	373	179	48.0	146	46	31.5
Negro	715	475	66.4	374	252	67.4	341	118	34.6
Migratory	330	171	51.8	147	80	54.4	183	92	50.3
White	259	119	45.9	119	54	45.4	140	75	53.6
Negro	71	52	73.2	28	26		43	17	

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

Although white migratory children were certificated more generally than others their certificated group had a larger proportion of children who were under legal working age and therefore ineligible for certification than any other, except the negro migratory workers. This proportion was 54 per cent for the migratory whites, 49 per cent for resident negroes, and 19 per cent for resident whites. Seventeen of the 19 migratory negro workers with certificates were under the legal minimum age for employment.

The employment of children without certificates was variously explained by cannery managers. A few admitted that they had made no attempt to get them, some of them saying that they did not employ children under 16. Undoubtedly many children tell the canners that they are 16 or over when applying for work, but a number of children working in canneries in which it was claimed that children under 16 were never employed told the Children's Bureau agents without hesitation that they were under 16. The great majority of the canners attributed the employment of so many children in violation of the certificating law to the difficulty in obtaining certificates. Several stated that no issuing officer had come to their plants and that they did not know who their local issuing officer was nor how to reach him. Some complained that the issuing officers would not come to the canneries to issue certificates but required the children to go to

their offices, where in some cases they could be found only during their office hours. Some of these, according to the canners, had their offices in towns 10 or more miles away from the cannery—several were more than 25 miles away—so that it would have been a hardship, if not an impossibility, for the children and their parents to go to them. In a few cases where such complaints were made, however, the cannery was in or very near the town where the issuing officer had his office, and the canners' willingness to hire children without certificates seemed to be the only reason why they should not have gone to the officer, as requested. The issuance of certificates at a central office (the advantages of which compared to issuance in the canneries themselves are obvious) is a generally accepted practice in canning communities in other States and would no doubt become more common in Maryland if canners understood that they could not employ children without employment certificates with impunity.

The most common complaint was that under the usual system followed in the Maryland counties of issuing certificates at the canneries, the visits of certificate officers were too infrequent to insure the issuing of certificates to all children needed for the rush season. The canners said that most certificating officers visited each cannery only once during the season. In some cases this was at the very beginning of the season or even before the season opened, in others not until late in the season. In a number of canneries he had not come at all that season up to the time of the bureau visits, many of which were made after the canning season was well under way and after the opening of the schools for white children. (See pp. 103 and 114.) Several canners said that in employing children during a considerable part of the season without certificates they were acting on the advice of the issuing officers, who had told them that they might do so if the children were needed before they had time to visit the cannery. A not uncommon complaint was that the issuing officers did not notify the canners of their intended visit in advance, so that it was impossible to round up all the children for whom certificates were desired.

In contrast to the cases where issuing officers had come so infrequently that certificates could not have been issued at the cannery for all the children, two complete sets of certificates were issued in the summer of 1925 to the same children employed in one cannery. At the beginning of the season the issuing officer of previous years, at the request of the management, had come to the cannery and certificated all the children; later another issuing officer had appeared and although he had been told that the necessary certificates had been issued had insisted the territory was his and had proceeded to issue a new set of certificates. When this cannery was visited by bureau representatives a year later, in September, 1926, no certificates had been issued to the children during that season. At the beginning of the season as usual the company called up the original issuing officer who had said that he was going on his vacation the next day and that the children might work until his return. Somewhat later the second officer had telephoned that he would be at the cannery to issue certificates on a certain day. Up to the time of the visit by the bureau agent, neither had appeared.

ISSUING OFFICERS

The child labor law requires that certificates shall be issued in the city of Baltimore by the commissioner of labor and statistics, the director of the State department enforcing labor laws, and outside Baltimore either by the commissioner or by the county superintendent of schools or his deputy. When this law first became operative December 1, 1912, the issuing was done in the counties by the county superintendents of schools or by school principals whom they deputized, except in several of the canning counties, where, because of the great demand for permits during the school vacation, the physicians appointed by the county superintendent of schools to make the physical examinations of children applying for certificates, as required under the law, were also authorized to issue certificates.[35] At the end of the first year of the operation of the law, because of the extra work that the task of issuing certificates entailed upon county superintendents and school principals, the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information (as the State enforcing agency was called at that time) urged all the county superintendents to authorize the physicians designated by them to make the physical examination to issue the certificates, saying:

> As between the overworked school official who received no remuneration for his work in issuing employment certificates and the examining physician who is compensated, though meagerly,[36] it was decided that the responsibility could most logically be placed on the latter. Moreover, the physician is practically constantly at his post.[37]

Since 1914 certificates have been issued outside Baltimore by these physicians except where branches of the State office have been established. No such branch is located in the canning counties.[38]

Eleven of the physicians appointed to issue employment certificates in canning counties were interviewed by Children's Bureau agents. The organization of certificate issuance appeared to differ considerably in different counties. In one county west of Chesapeake Bay, a number of local physicians had been appointed, each of whom issued for a relatively small territory. In others, especially those on the Eastern Shore, only one, or in some cases, two physicians issued for the entire county. One physician was found to have been issuing certificates in all or part of four counties in 1925. With one exception, each of the issuing officers interviewed had his own private practice, and a number were also county health officers and deputy health commissioners.

Although, as has been said, some of the issuing officers required the children to come to their offices for certificates, the most common practice was to issue the certificates in the canneries. This method may have resulted, especially where canneries were widely scattered and issuing officers had large territories, in the certification of a larger number of children than would have been the case if (under the county certificating system as organized) all had been required to to go to the issuing officer. It had certain disadvantages, however,

---

[35] Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1913, p. 69.

[36] Under the law passed in 1912 (ch. 731, sec. 47) the physicians were paid 50 cents by the county commissioners on warrant from the county superintendent of schools for each applicant examined. In 1914 (ch. 840) the bureau of statistics and information was substituted for the county commissioners. In 1922 (ch. 350) this sum was raised to $1, to be paid by the commissioner of labor and statistics on the warrant of the county superintendent of schools.

[37] Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1914, pp. 139–142.

[38] At the time of this study such a branch was located in western Maryland.

especially where the issuing officers had relatively large territories to cover, as was the case in all the Eastern Shore counties visited. Visits to individual canneries were too infrequent and issuing done at the cannery during working hours at the height of the rush season was apt to be done too hurriedly.

Most of the physicians authorized to issue did the issuing themselves, but some delegated all or part of the work to others. One physician had his son accompany him on his visits to the canneries to fill in the forms, which he himself signed. Another turned over a considerable part of the issuing in his territory to his secretary, who issued certificates not only in the office in the physician's absence but also in some of the canneries. Another had his wife issue certificates in his absence. Some reported that no provision was made for anyone else to issue in their absence.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ISSUANCE

Evidence of age.

Evidence of age is required under the Maryland law to be submitted in the following order:

(*a*) A duly attested transcript of the birth certificate filed according to law with a register of vital statistics or other officer charged with the recording of births.

(*b*) A passport or duly attested transcript of a certificate of baptism showing the date of birth and place of baptism of such child.

(*c*) A bona fide contemporary Bible record, a certificate of arrival, or a life-insurance policy, "provided that such other satisfactory documentary evidence" has been in existence at least one year; school record or parent's statement or affidavit not to be accepted except as specified under evidence (*d*).[39]

(*d*) In case none of the proofs required under (*a*), (*b*), or (*c*) can be produced a parent's affidavit may be accepted if accompanied by a statement of the examining physician certifying that he has made a physical examination of the child in question and that in his opinion the child is of legal working age.[40]

On the forms furnished by the Maryland Commissioner of Labor and Statistics for use in the counties, a space is provided in which the issuing officer is expected to enter the kind of proof of age accepted. Information as to the evidence upon which age was determined by the issuing officers was entered on the certificate for 567 of the 639 children for whom certificates were found on file. In 341 (60 per cent) of the cases a birth certificate was reported as the type of evidence accepted, and in 74 cases a baptismal record, making in all 415 (73 per cent) reported as issued on the best type of evidence. Affidavits of parents, only permissible under the Maryland law if no better proof of age is available,[41] were reported as accepted in 88 cases.

To determine the actual ages of the children found at work in the canneries the Children's Bureau agents made a thorough search for the best type of evidence obtainable for these children. Better legal evidence of age than that accepted by the issuing officers was available for approximately one-fifth of the children certificated. For example,

[39] Evidence (*d*), however, makes no mention of school record as evidence.
[40] Md., Laws of 1912, ch. 731, secs. 13–15, as amended by Laws of 1916, ch. 222, and Laws of 1918, ch. 495.
[41] As the examining physician issues the employment certificate, the affidavit is necessarily accompanied by a "physician's certificate of age" as required by law.

birth records were found for 27 of the 74 children issued certificates on baptismal records, and birth or baptismal records for 68 of the 88 children for whom parents' affidavits had been accepted as proof of age. On the other hand, no birth certificates could be found for 223 (65 per cent) of the 341 children reported to have been issued certificates on this type of evidence. For 9 other children the evidence specified by the issuing officer could not be found. Thus, for 232 children, more than one-third of the total number for whom the nature of the evidence was reported, the evidence specified on the certificates was reported to be nonexistent. A large number of these permits had been issued by one physician. He stated that he issued practically all certificates on the evidence of birth certificates and practically all the certificates seen by the bureau representatives which had been issued by him had "a" entered as the type of evidence. In view of the fact that birth certificates could not be found in the official birth records for a large proportion of the children to whom this officer had issued certificates, and that in many cases the evidence of age found by the bureau for these children proved them to be under legal age for certification, it would seem that at least the great majority of the certificates issued by him were issued on no more reliable evidence than the children's word. This officer reported that he believed he had refused about 6 permits in the summer of 1925 because he believed the children to be underage; during the same period he had isused 963. Several canners regarded the methods followed by the issuing officers in their districts in determining evidence of age as a joke, and said that the officers only took the children's or parent's statements as to their ages just as the canner himself would do when they applied for work. One canner in expressing his views on this matter stated that when his own son was issued a certificate he himself was not consulted, the boy was not required to produce any proof of age, and no physical examination was made.

The birth date entered on the certificate by the issuing officer was wrong for 367 of the 639 children on certificate, according to documentary evidence obtained by the Children's Bureau. In 336 cases the child was younger than the birth date entered on the certificate indicated; in 323 the discrepancy between the child's real birth date and the birth date accepted by the issuing officer was sufficiently great to change his actual age. The proportion of such cases varied in the different localities, from only 1 of the 26 in the canneries visited in the city of Baltimore to two-thirds or more in six counties, being 70 per cent in Caroline, 71 per cent in Cecil, 74 per cent in Dorchester, 65 per cent in Queen Anne, 73 per cent in Somerset, and 66 per cent in Talbot.

Migratory children more often than those living in the locality of the canneries in which they worked were put down on their certificates as older than they were—63 per cent of the former compared to 42 per cent of the latter. The white children living in the neighborhood of the canneries had the smallest proportion who were proved to be younger than their certificated ages (26 per cent), and the negro migratory children had the largest, 17 of the 19 cases being below the ages accepted by the issuing officers. More of the negro children than of the white—61 per cent of the one group and 38 per cent of the other—had been represented on their certificates as older than they actually were.

The age entered on 249 of the 256 certificates issued to children under 14 was either 14 or 15 years, on 4 it was 13 years, and on 3 no age had been entered by the issuing officer. The documentary evidence found by the Children's Bureau agents showed that 165 of these children were 13, 59 were 12, 26 were 11, 5 were 10, and 1 was 9 years of age.

Three of the five issuing officers interviewed who were county health officers or registrars of vital statistics, reported that they examined the birth records filed in their offices, but two of these issued most of their certificates at the canneries. Most of the issuing officers said that they accepted the parents' affidavits or the child's statements if the children did not have documentary evidence with them when they came for certificates. Documentary evidence could have been procured for the great majority of the children. The Children's Bureau agents found birth records for 35 per cent of the children with certificates whom they found at work in the Maryland canneries, baptismal records for 21 per cent, and other documentary evidence acceptable under the Maryland child labor law for 22 per cent. Thus, for 78 per cent of the total number of children with certificates, some kind of satisfactory documentary evidence was available. For the 143 Baltimore children employed in the county canneries who had certificates this proportion was 89 per cent, though but little more than half of them were reported as having been issued certificates on such evidence. In this connection it may be noted that when the present child labor law first went into effect [42] the State bureau of statistics and information required all Baltimore children going to work in the county canneries to obtain their employment certificates at the Baltimore office of the bureau before leaving the city. The reports of the State department do not show that this requirement has ever been rescinded, but only 22 of the 143 children had obtained certificates in Baltimore. (See footnote 63, p. 134.)

Proof of physical fitness.

Every child obtaining an employment certificate is required to have a certificate from a physician, appointed in the counties by the county superintendent of schools, stating that the child has been examined by him, and that in the physician's opinion he is physically able to undertake the work for which the employment certificate is desired.[43] The physicians appointed to issue employment certificates in the counties do not receive fees for issuing them (see footnote 36, p. 121), but they are entitled to a fee of $1 for each physician's certificate issued. Although entitled to payment only for the physician's certificate, 6 of the 11 issuing officers interviewed said that they made no attempt to give applicants physical examinations, 1 examined only children who were "puny or undersized," and 1 did not examine all applicants. In regard to one of the three who said they gave the required examination to all children, the only one of them in the Eastern Shore counties, several of the canners in his district denied that he made any examination of the children during the course of issuing at their canneries. If, as he himself stated, he issued 963 certificates

[42] The child labor law went into effect in December, 1912, but it did not affect the canning industry to any extent until the summer of 1913.

[43] This is the requirement for a vacation certificate. For a certificate permitting employment during school hours the physician must certify also that the child is of normal development. (Md., Laws of 1912, ch. 731, secs. 13-15, as amended by Laws of 1916, ch. 222, and Laws of 1918, ch. 495.)

in 15 days in 1925, it would seem as though physical examinations for more than a small percentage of these children would have been an impossibility.

Other.

Examination of the certificates on file for the children employed in the canneries revealed failure to comply with certain other requirements for issuance. A number of the defects found—such as the omission of information as to the sex, color, or residence of the child, of the child's or issuing officer's signature, or of the date of issuance—were not of much significance so far as adequate enforcement of the law was concerned. But others were of greater significance, such as computing the child's age incorrectly; omitting his name or birth date; giving the birth place incorrectly; failing to record the nature of the evidence accepted; and failing to enter or to state specifically the occupation for which the certificate was granted (61 such cases were found).

STATE SUPERVISION

The State commissioner of labor and statistics has general supervision over employment certificates in the State. He prepares the certification forms and supplies them to issuing officers with instructions for their use. Duplicates of all certificates issued and also records of all applications for certificates that have been refused must be sent to him by the issuing officer. In Baltimore all certificates are issued by him, and although in the counties the issuing officers are appointed under the law by the county superintendents, in actual practice the appointments, through cooperation with the superintendents, are subject to his approval. Machinery thus exists in Maryland for effective supervision of issuance throughout the State by the State agency enforcing the labor laws.

Most of the issuing officers interviewed, however, reported that beyond receiving forms for certification and copies of the law they had no supervision from the State. None reported that he had visits or letters from representatives of the State department of labor to advise him regarding the problems of issuance, although a few said that they occasionally went to Baltimore and consulted the staff of the department regarding matters of issuance. In order to receive the fee of $1 for each child certificated the issuing officer had to send in the duplicates of the certificates he had issued, and this apparently was done by all, but a number said that they sent in duplicates only once a month and some that they sent them in only at the end of the year or at the end of the canning season, so that it would have been impossible for the State department to revoke the certificates if they had been incorrectly issued.

LABOR CAMPS FOR CANNERY WORKERS

SIZE OF CAMPS

Labor camps were maintained in connection with 93 of the 201 canneries in which children under 16 were employed, and in connection with 6 of the 10 canneries in which children were not employed. Children were found living in all but 3 of them. Ninety-three camps for which the number of persons housed was reported had 3,842

persons, or an average of 41 a camp. The camps ranged in size from two housing less than 10 persons each to one housing 125 or more. About half the total number in the camps, 1,895, were children, many of whom were too young for cannery work.

HOUSING

Camps were usually near the cannery buildings, but a few were as far as a quarter of a mile away. Some of the latter were built under trees or at the edge of woods, and when the camp was near the cannery it was likely to be near a highway or the railroad tracks. The buildings in the majority of the camps were long, low, one-story frame structures, weather stained or painted a dingy red, with roof of tar paper or corrugated iron, consisting of a row of rooms, 8 or 10 in a row, each with a window and an outside door. If there were two buildings the second was usually placed at right angles to the first. This type of building is known in other parts of the country as a row house; in the Maryland cannery camps each room is called a "shack" or a "shanty." The other camps had a variety of housing arrangements, but only one had the dormitory type, in which the workers all slept in one large room, such as was common in cannery camps in earlier years and in Maryland truck-farm camps in 1921, when the Children's Bureau made a survey of the housing of truck-farm workers.[44] In 1911 half the 20 cannery camps visited in Maryland during a survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor were of the dormitory type,[45] and a few were found by Federal child labor law inspectors in 1919.[46] Five camps visited during the present study might have been a development of this earlier type; they were barnlike buildings of two stories, each floor partitioned off into 2 rows of rooms, 1 room for a family, each room with a door into the hallway and the second floor reached by an outside stairway. Existing buildings—old farmhouses, cabins built for negro tenants, or even the second floor of the cannery warehouse—had been converted into living quarters for migratory laborers in some places.

"One room, one family" was the general housing arrangement. In 53 camps families were assigned one room regardless of the number of persons in the family. However, in 17 camps some of the larger families occupied two rooms, and in 4 camps each family was given two or more rooms. In one of the latter, a negro camp on the Eastern Shore, each family occupied a 4-room house. On the other hand, in 10 camps some families had to share their one room with outsiders. Rooms varied greatly in size, although those in the same row house were usually the same size. A floor space of about 120 square feet was common, though rooms were both larger and smaller. In four camps the size of the rooms was estimated to be 84 square feet or less. In row houses the roof was sloping, so that the sides of the rooms, 8 feet or so high at one end were 12 or even 20 feet high at the other end, thus affording considerably more air space than if the ceiling had been flat.

---

[44] Child Labor on Maryland Truck Farms, p. 25. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 123. Washington, 1923.
[45] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor), No. 96, September, 1911, p. 373. Washington, 1912.
[46] Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law, pp. 101, 102. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 78. Washington, 1921.

Overcrowding was common, as most of the family groups assigned to one room were composed of 3 or 4 persons and some of as many as 9 or 10. In 23 camps occupied by white families and in 18 camps occupied by negro families the number of persons living in each room was ascertained. Fifty-six per cent of the rooms occupied by white families and 70 per cent of those occupied by negro families had three or more persons in a room, and 22 per cent of the rooms occupied by white families, and 32 per cent of those occupied by negro families, had five or more persons.

Legal regulations as to housing and sanitation in labor camps are not so detailed in Maryland as in some of the other States having such regulations. (See p. 223.) Since 1914, however, Maryland has had a law on the sanitation of factories and canneries, administered by the State board of health, which requires that "living quarters, provided by the canner, shall have water-tight roofs and tight board floors and shall be provided with ample light and ventilation, and provision shall be made therein for the proper separation and privacy of the sexes."[47] The law does not set specific standards. For example, several States in which labor camps are regulated specify the amount of cubic air space to be provided for each person in sleeping rooms—the Washington State Board of Health requires 500 cubic feet of air per person;[48] the California State Commission on Immigration and Housing advises this standard though it does not require it;[49] the New York Industrial Commission requires 400 cubic feet of air space for each person, except that a minimum of 200 cubic feet is permitted for each child under 14 years;[50] in Pennsylvania by recent rulings of the State department of labor, 250 cubic feet of air space are required for each person in sleeping rooms of seasonal labor camps operated between April 1 and October 31, this being approximately the amount of air space required for each person in Pullman sleeping cars.[51] In most of the camps in Maryland the amount of cubic air space could not be estimated easily on account of the pitch of the roofs of the row houses. A few examples, however, may indicate the inadequacy of the cubic air space in many instances. In one camp, a mother, father, and four children slept in one room having 1,040 cubic feet instead of the 1,500 that would be required by the Pennsylvania standard. In another camp a mother and five children slept in a room having 504 instead of 1,500 cubic feet.

The rooms in most of the camps with row houses were ventilated by one door and one window (about 18 inches by 2 feet), both opening to the outer air. In the newer buildings the windows usually had glass panes, although these could not always be opened; in some of the older buildings the windows were merely holes in the walls with board shutters. Few windows had screens. According to a standard adopted in New York State,[52] every window opening must be at least four square feet, set with glass and easily opened.

The provision of the Maryland law requiring "proper separation and privacy of the sexes"[53] is not so specific as the provisions of the

[47] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (j). (See footnote 62, p. 132.)
[48] Washington, Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Health, revised and adopted Aug. 29, 1927, secs. 63 and 64.
[49] California Commission of Immigration and Housing, Advisory Pamphlet (Rev. 1926), p. 17.
[50] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 205 (p. 188).
[51] Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Regulations for Labor Camps, 1926, Rule 300, subdiv. (c).
[52] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 206 (p. 188).
[53] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (j).

New York and Pennsylvania regulations, both of which require that families composed of husband and wife and a child 10 years of age or older must be assigned two rooms.[54] In Maryland cannery camps it is the practice for all members of the family, mother, father, boys and girls, and young children to sleep in the same room and usually in the same bed. In 10 camps, where the usual rule of one family to a room was not observed, in some cases a single man or woman shared the same room with a married couple and their children, and in other cases two married couples shared the same room. In the one house of dormitory type found three family groups of nine persons in all, men, women, and children, slept in the same room in three beds, each in a different corner.

Rooms were generally used only for sleeping. The furnishings consisted of one large bunk or bed space roughly constructed of boards, the chests and boxes the workers had brought with them, and an occasional table or bench provided by the canner. In a few camps, both those for whites and those for negroes, the workers had brought cots with them; in a few others the bunks were built like berths, one above the other, and were the size of ordinary beds. In most of the camps each room had but one bunk, about 6 feet wide and 8 or 10 feet long, frequently taking up two-thirds of the room. In this bed slept all members of the family, regardless of age or sex. Generally the bunk was raised 1 foot or 18 inches from the floor, but in 22 of the 91 camps inspected, 20 occupied by white families and 1 by negro families, the bunks were not raised, the bed space being separated from the rest of the floor only by a board about a foot high.[55] The bunks or bed spaces were filled with straw provided by the canner over which were spread blankets or sometimes feather beds or comforters provided by the workers. Workers expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction regarding the straw furnished. One woman voiced a general criticism when she declared that "good farmers change the straw for their cattle, but here where we human beings are, we use the same stale straw, week after week."

Both cooking and eating, as a rule, were done out of doors except in some of the old dwelling houses or in camps where families had two rooms. The stoves were usually under some kind of shelter, a shed or a projection of the roof of the row house, though in a few camps the stoves had no shelters, a source of much inconvenience when it rained. In some of the better-equipped camps each family had a separate stove and table, but usually several families shared a stove, table, and benches. In a camp for negro workers where the second floor of the cannery warehouse had been turned into living quarters, the 47 occupants used two old stoves placed in a corner that had not been partitioned off into sleeping compartments; in another camp for negro workers, where one old kitchen range was provided for 27 persons, one family had brought an oil stove and one woman was seen heating water in an iron kettle balanced over a fire built on the ground. In the camps for Polish workers the men had constructed stoves and

[54] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 223 (p. 190); Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Regulations for Labor Camps, 1926, Rule 300.

[55] In a few States, not including Maryland, specific regulations have been made concerning beds. The New York Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 210 (p. 189), and the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Regulations for Labor Camps, Rule 300 (c), each provide that beds, cots, or bunks must be provided in "sufficient numbers" for the occupants of the rooms, and that each bed must be raised at least 12 inches from the floor. In California the law regulating labor camps (Acts of 1921, ch. 767) provides that "the bunks or beds shall be made of steel, canvas, or other sanitary material" and that when straw is used "a container or tick must be provided."

ovens out of bricks and plaster after the fashion of those in the "old country." No place to keep food was provided; some of the families themselves had put up shelves or kept boxes for their food. Shacks had no means of heating except in the camps where the cooking was done indoors, although the weather is sometimes cold and damp before the season closes toward the middle of October. Lighting was usually by kerosene lamps or candles, provided by the workers, but three camps were wired for electricity.

SANITATION

Sanitation in the cannery camps was as a rule far from satisfactory. Legal regulations do not apply in Maryland, as they do in some other States, to toilets in labor camps, though a section of the law relating to the sanitation of canneries requires that separate toilet rooms be provided for each sex,[56] not specifying the kind or the number. Privies were generally provided for the occupants of the camps that were visited. In 22 of the 91 camps separate provision for the sexes was not made. In more than half the camps the occupants were expected to use the toilet facilities at the canneries and no others were provided. In some of these cases the camps were some distance from the canneries (one camp with no toilet facilities was a quarter of a mile from the cannery and another was separated from the cannery by a stretch of woods), and in some cases the cannery toilets were insufficient for the number of persons. One of the larger canneries employing 200 persons had a camp with 118, including many nonworkers; it provided no toilets at the camp and only six at the cannery. Where camps had toilets of their own, the number was usually adequate, according to the accepted standard in some States of not less than one toilet for every 20 persons,[57] but in 4 of the 41 camps with toilet facilities even this standard was not maintained, and two had only one toilet for 30 or more persons. One canner who had 125 workers and 110 persons in the cannery camp provided no toilets of any kind either at the cannery or at the camp.

Only two labor camps had flush toilets. The privies were generally of flimsy construction and not properly cared for. Frequently sheds with open pits or portables with dug holes were used; there was no screening nor protection against flies. In some camps located near a creek, the privy was built over the water. In some, pails were provided which were emptied periodically. The only provision in one camp, in which there were children living but not working, was a covered pail inadequately screened by some bushes. One camp had separate toilets for the sexes but there were cracks in the partitions between the compartments; in another camp the door of the privy was off the hinges; in another the privy had no roof; in another there were no seats; in another the floor boards of the privy were broken so that it was unsafe for children. Except for some cases where the canners took the responsibility of keeping the privies cleaned out, they were not in fit condition and the waste was sometimes not disposed of until the end of the season.

The grounds were frequently littered with garbage, tin cans, and other rubbish, in contrast to the living quarters, which were often kept

[56] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (i). (See p. 89 for a statement regarding sanitary conditions found in Maryland canneries in this survey.)

[57] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rule 213 (p. 189); Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Regulations for Labor Camps, Rule 316.

clean and tidy by the families who occupied them. According to the law "the occupants of the living quarters provided by the canner shall be required to keep same in a clean and sanitary condition."[58] Responsibility for the grounds frequently was assumed neither by campers nor by employers. About a fourth of the canners appointed the row boss or another employee to collect and dispose of the garbage. Some of these, and a few others who took no further responsibility, furnished cans or pails for garbage. In the majority of the camps refuse was thrown into the woods behind the camp buildings or on the ground or in the creek or river. What can be done to keep the grounds in a sanitary condition if the employer takes the responsibility, as under the New York and California laws relating to labor camps he is required to do,[59] was exemplified by the excellent condition of one of the camps visited. The employee in charge of the grounds emptied the garbage pails, which had covers, daily, swept the ground about the shacks clean, and used a kerosene spray to destroy flies.

On account of the flies, which swarm in cannery camps, decaying garbage and unscreened privies present a serious health problem. In most camps windows and doors are not screened. Canners provided screens at least for the windows in 7 of the 91 visited. Another canner gave cheesecloth to all families who asked for it. In 10 other camps the workers had tried to cope with the fly evil by tacking up netting which they themselves had bought.

According to the Maryland law relating to living quarters maintained by canners "an ample supply of pure drinking water" must be provided.[60] In the absence of chemical analysis no details can be given of the extent to which the water was not pure. In more than a third of the camps no separate well or faucet was provided for the camp, and the families went to the cannery for all their water. The water used by the occupants of 23, including some of those whose water supply was at the cannery, was from artesian wells and in 5 was from the town water supply, and was probably satisfactory. In the other 40 camps for which information was obtained drinking water came from dug or driven wells or from springs. The occupants of several camps said that they had been made ill by the water. In one camp the workers so distrusted the water that they brought water from the cannery, 400 feet away across railroad tracks. The source of the water supply in another camp, a spring covered by a board, had been condemned by an inspector from the State health department, according to the row boss.

CARE OF CHILDREN

During the day children who do not work are either left to amuse themselves as best they can at camp in charge of children little older than themselves or go with their mothers to the cannery (see p.102). It is a common sight in the canneries to see young children standing around or playing in less crowded parts of the workrooms or warehouse. Both the camp grounds, because of their proximity to railroads and highways, and the cannery workrooms are dangerous places for young children.

---

[58] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (m).
[59] N. Y., Labor Law, sec. 298; Calif., Acts of 1919, ch. 164.
[60] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, sec. 3, subdiv. (j).

A number of accidents to children during the season of the Children's Bureau visits were reported. One child fell off a wagon load of tomatoes on which she was playing and broke her arm, and another had her leg broken by an automobile on the highway near the camp. Two children in two camps were burned when they got too near cook stoves. One of these, trying to get warm on a cold windy day, had set her clothing on fire, and two and a half months later, when her family was visited in Baltimore, was still in the hospital. The other, a 2-year-old child of the row boss, died as a result of burns.

Children playing about unsupervised in the cannery also were injured. An 8-year-old boy was pushed by another child into a scalding machine; both legs were burned up to his waist, and he was in bed for two weeks. In another cannery a child of 4, playing near a process kettle, was stunned and unconscious for 24 hours when hit by the lid of the kettle which had rolled off.

In many canneries the management tried to keep children out of the cannery buildings, but in only two of those visited was a systematic effort made to supervise the children. In one the canner had engaged an elderly negro woman whose main duty was to see that children did not get into the workrooms. In another a recreation center was provided, with three welfare workers, of whom one had nurse's training and another had been a student at a medical school.[61] Classes in basketry, sewing, and cooking were held in a small frame building outside the camp grounds, and here hot lunches costing the nominal sum of 3 cents were served daily. Lessons in hygiene were also given and the canner provided each child with a tooth brush.

ILLNESSES IN MIGRATORY FAMILIES

The existence of typhoid fever and other less serious kinds of intestinal troubles among families migrating for cannery work gives ground for concern over the water supply and general camp sanitation. Nine of the 197 families interviewed at their homes in Baltimore said that some member of the family had had some form of intestinal trouble at camp. One baby according to the mother had died of cholera infantum. Thirteen other families reported 17 cases of typhoid fever, either while they were at camp or within a few weeks after their return to the city, a number of which were registered at the office of the bureau for recording communicable diseases of the State department of health. Nine of the 17 cases of typhoid had occurred among families which had migrated to one cannery in Queen Anne County, 2 in families migrating to different canneries in Caroline County, 1 in a family going to a Harford County cannery, and 5 in one family which had gone to a cannery camp in Kent County. One cannery was reported to have had an epidemic of typhoid for several successive years, and the year of the survey the cannery owners had advised mothers to have the children innoculated. (See also p. 53.)

SUMMARY

In the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables, Maryland ranks third among the States, according to the average number of wage earners, and canning is the second industry of the State. The

[61] This project was organized by the Council of Women for Home Missions with the cooperation of the cannery. Similar welfare stations have been carried on for migratory workers by the same organization in other places in Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and on the Pacific coast.

principal crops canned are tomatoes, corn, beans, and peas. The Children's Bureau visited 211 of the 407 canneries, 185 of which, at the peak of the tomato season, were canning nothing but tomatoes. No other manufacturing industry in the State employs so many children.

Of the 198 canneries outside the city of Baltimore visited by the Children's Bureau 99 employed negro or foreign-born migratory labor in family groups. These maintained labor camps for the migrants, in many of which housing and sanitation were unsatisfactory.[62]

The equipment of many of the canneries, especially in the rural sections, was not up to date. Poor ventilation and wet and sloppy floors were common. Seats for the workers were seldom provided.[62]

One thousand five hundred and sixty-four children under 16 were found at work in 201 canneries. They constituted 10 per cent of the total number of wage earners. Twenty-one per cent were migratory workers, of whom 78 per cent were white, usually of Polish or other Slavic origin. Of the local children at work in the canneries, 58 per cent were negro. More than half (56 per cent) of the child workers were girls.

Six hundred and seventy children (43 per cent of those employed) were under 14, though the age minimum for work in canneries in Maryland is 14 years. Fifty-five per cent of the migratory children were under 14. One hundred and eighty-one (12 per cent of the employed children) were from 7 to 11 years of age, including 110 girls. The proportion under 14 was the same as was found in a Children's Bureau survey of Maryland canneries in 1918, but the proportion under 10 was smaller in 1925 than in 1918.

Eighty-seven per cent of the children were working in tomato canneries. Of the girls, 87 per cent were tomato peelers, 5 per cent husked, cut, sorted, or trimmed corn, 3 per cent were employed in the hand packing of tomatoes; the remaining 5 per cent sorted lima beans, snipped string beans, worked as can girls and check girls, labeled cans, and did a variety of other work. Of the boys 37 per cent were can boys, 24 per cent were tomato peelers, and the remainder did a great variety of work, much of which required a good deal of strength or was done in connection with power machinery. Fifty-two children operated machines, contrary to the provisions of the child labor law.

---

[62] The State Department of Health of Maryland administers the law providing for the inspection of factories, canneries, and other establishments and places where food products are manufactured, packed, or sold and for the correction of insanitary conditions and practices in such establishments. This law also sets up certain general standards in regard to living quarters provided by the canner. (See p. 127.) Information received from this department (January, 1930) regarding its work since 1925 in inspecting canneries and cannery labor camps is as follows:

At a meeting of the deputy State health officers in April, 1927, it was agreed that the bureau of food and drugs of the State department of health should be responsible for the enforcement of the sanitary inspection law in canneries, and that the bureau of sanitary engineering should inspect and make recommendations for water supplies and the proper sewage-disposal methods for all canneries and cooperate with the bureau of food and drugs in putting into effect necessary improvements. Following this meeting, a number of canneries where improvements in sewage disposal and water supply were needed were visited by the inspectors of the bureau of sanitary engineering and recommendations were made. In many cases the examination of water supply was confined to a sanitary survey and recommendations were made to the canner as to how to protect the supply.

During the season of 1929 approximately 1,067 inspections of 375 canneries were made by the representatives of the bureau of food and drugs. These inspections were confined primarily to the detection of adulterated foods and to improvement of sanitary conditions in the canneries, but inspectors were instructed, in connection with the inspections, to look over the living quarters and make recommendations for improvements wherever necessary. They were urged to see that surroundings were kept reasonably clean, that closed containers were provided for garbage and other refuse, that toilets were available, and that good water was available within a reasonable distance.

Cannery work has been exempted from the hour provisions of the Maryland child labor law applying to manufacturing and mercantile establishments.

In 198 of the 201 canneries employing children they worked more than 8 hours a day; in 179, 10 hours or longer; and in 63, 12 hours or longer.

Ninety-seven per cent of the employed children worked more than 8 hours a day, including 603 under 14 years of age and 140 under 12; 76 per cent worked 10 hours or longer and 19 per cent 12 hours or longer. Migrants had longer hours than others; 35 per cent of them had worked at least 12 hours a day.

Sixty-nine per cent of 270 children for whom a week's time records were obtained had worked more than 48 hours a week, and 43 per cent had worked 60 hours or more.

Thirty-three per cent, including 50 per cent of the migrants and 29 per cent of the other workers, had been employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. one or more times during the season of 1925. Children had worked between these hours in 94 of the 201 canneries.

The number of nights worked during the season ranged from 1 to 30 or more, 53 per cent of the night workers, including 70 per cent of the migrants, having worked at least 6 nights.

Two hundred of the children working at night were under 14, and 45 were under 12 years of age.

Ninety-six per cent of the 245 white migratory children reported upon returned to their city homes from the canneries at least three weeks, and 57 per cent at least four weeks, after school had opened the season of the survey; 20 per cent had left home at least four weeks before school had closed.

Maryland county schools for white children opened from about two to four weeks before the close of the cannery season, and those for negro children from one to two weeks. The great majority of the canneries were visited after the opening of the schools for white children, and most of the children found at work were employed a full day and did not attend school.

Employment certificates, required under the child labor law for all children between 14 and 16 employed in canneries, were on file for only 639 of the 1,564 children. Seventy-six of the 201 canneries had no certificates on file, and 87 had them on file for 256 children under the legal working age.

Of the white migrants with certificates 54 per cent, and 17 of the 19 negro migrants for whom certificates were on file, were under the legal age for employment. Of the local white children 19 per cent and of the local negro children 49 per cent were under 14.

Seventy-three per cent of the certificates were recorded as having been issued on birth or baptismal records, the types of evidence of age given preference under the law. However, the Children's Bureau found birth records for only one-third of the children whose certificates were alleged to have been issued on this type of evidence, and for more than one-third in all of the children the evidence specified on the certificate was apparently nonexistent. On the other hand, the Children's Bureau found that evidence of age legally preferable to that accepted was available for one-fifth of the certificated children.

According to documentary evidence obtained by the Children's Bureau 336 of the 639 children with certificates were younger than

indicated by the birth dates on their certificates, including 63 per cent of the migrants and 42 per cent of the resident workers.[63]

[63] The following information has been received from the office of the Maryland Commissioner of Labor and Statistics regarding certain efforts to change child-labor conditions in the canneries since the date of this study:

In 1928 a special survey was made in four Eastern Shore counties where approximately one-fourth of the canneries of the State are located. (See Child Labor in Vegetable Canneries in Maryland, April, 1929, issued by the State Commissioner of Labor and Statistics.) In view of the facts discovered, it was felt that special efforts should be made toward the improvement of certificate issuance and thereby toward the prevention of the employment of children under legal age. At the beginning of the season of 1929, a letter was sent to each canner whose name appeared upon the records of the office, calling his attention to the provisions of the child labor law, giving instructions as to obtaining certificates, and asking that the name and address of the row boss who obtained workers for the cannery be sent to the Baltimore office on a card which was inclosed. Replies were received from 86 canners who were planning to operate in 1929, 48 reporting that they had row bosses (35 living in Baltimore and 13 outside). Letters were written to those residing in Baltimore, instructing them to obtain certificates at the Baltimore office, and to those outside Baltimore giving them instructions regarding compliance with the law.

In all, 152 certificates were issued in the Baltimore office for children to work in county canneries, as compared with 127 such certificates issued in 1928 and 62 in 1925. The certificates issued in 1929 were for work in 49 canneries distributed in 11 counties, those issued in 1925 were for work for only 25 companies in 9 counties. Of the 49 county canneries for which certificates were issued in Baltimore in 1929, 24 had reported row bosses to whom letters had been written, and 16 had row bosses whose names had not been reported to the Baltimore office.

Before the opening of the canneries, a further reminder as to the requirements of the law was sent to each canner, with the name and address of the nearest physician authorized to issue certificates. In a few districts where these physicians were not reasonably available to the canneries additional issuing officers were appointed. It was intended that physicians should not visit the plants to issue certificates, but it was later found that in some instances this was necessary.

That inspections of canneries for child-labor violations have been more thorough during the last few years than in previous years is indicated by the increase in the number of children reported by the office of the Maryland Commissioner of Labor and Statistics as found at work in violation of the law. In 1925, when 397 canneries were inspected, 239 canneries were found employing 1,656 children under 16, of whom only 85 (5 per cent) were reported as "working in violation of law"; whereas in 1928, 170 of 261 vegetable canneries inspected were employing 920 children under 16, of whom 223 (24 per cent) were reported to be under legal age or without certificates, and in 1929, 243 of 367 canneries inspected were employing 1,276 children under 16, of whom 214 (17 per cent) were children between 14 and 16 without certificates and 121 (9 per cent) were under 14 years of age.

MICHIGAN

INTRODUCTION

Michigan ranked fifth among the States in 1925[1] in the canning and preserving of fruits. The principal fruit crop canned is cherries, but berries of all kinds (except loganberries) and pears, peaches, and plums are also packed.[2] Besides the fruit products, Michigan cans many kinds of vegetables. Pickles and beans are the leading products according to value, not even excepting cherries. Kraut, beets, corn, pumpkins and squash, and tomatoes and tomato pulp are the principal other products canned in the State.[3] The industry employed in 1925 an average number of 2,935 wage earners, but in August and September, the peak canning months, the number rose to 7,200 and 7,629, respectively.[4]

The Canners' Directory for 1925 lists 78 establishments canning and preserving fruits and vegetables.[5] These were located in 32 of the 83 counties of the State, chiefly in the counties bordering Lake Michigan and in the central and southeastern parts of the State. Fifty-one were in the western counties of the lower peninsula on or near Lake Michigan, from Antrim County on the north to the Indiana line on the south, the principal fruit-raising section of the State. The eastern canning counties specialized chiefly in tomatoes and tomato pulp, the central counties in kraut and pickles, and the western counties in fruits and beans.

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

The Children's Bureau inquiry in Michigan was confined chiefly to establishments canning fruits. It covered 35 canneries in 13 counties in the western part of the State, including almost all the important fruit-canning counties. (Table 40.)

The western part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan is famous for its small fruits, especially cherries, raspberries, and strawberries. The length of the canning season in this section varies from a few weeks to the entire year, but in most cases the season begins in June when strawberries are ripe and continues through the summer or into the early fall, depending on the kind and number of products the establishment cans. Sometimes slack periods occur between the end of one crop and the beginning of the next; for example, one cannery closed down for a couple of weeks after the cherry season until lima beans were ready for canning.

---

[1] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, p. 20. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.
[2] Ibid., p. 17.
[3] Ibid., pp. 16–17, 19.
[4] Ibid., pp. 7–8.
[5] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 107–113. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C. The U. S. Census of Manufactures for 1925 lists 66 establishments in Michigan canning vegetables, fruits, pickles, etc. but census statistics were collected only from establishments reporting products of $5,000 or more. (Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 2, 22.)

TABLE 40.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed in canneries in certain counties of Michigan*

County	Canneries visited				Persons employed				
	Total	Employing children under 16 years		Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years	
		Total	Under 14 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent of total under 16 years
Total	35	31	11	4	2,428	229	9.4	26	11.4
Allegan	2	2	1	-------	156	17	10.9	1	5.9
Antrim	2	1	-------	1	73	10	13.7	-------	-------
Benzie	2	2	-------	-------	75	3	4.0	-------	-------
Berrien	7	6	3	1	303	24	7.9	4	16.7
Grand Traverse	3	3	-------	-------	450	41	9.1	-------	-------
Kent	1	1	-------	-------	30	1	-------	-------	-------
Leelanau	1	1	1	-------	72	11	15.3	1	9.1
Mason	1	1	-------	-------	120	12	10.0	-------	-------
Muskegon	1	1	-------	-------	50	12	24.0	-------	-------
Newaygo	1	1	-------	-------	176	1	.6	-------	-------
Oceana	5	3	1	2	378	27	7.1	11	40.7
Ottawa	2	2	1	-------	108	33	30.6	2	6.1
Van Buren	7	7	4	-------	437	37	8.5	7	18.9

At the time of the Children's Bureau inquiry, which was made in July, 3 establishments were canning strawberries, 10 cherries, 6 raspberries, 4 beans, 1 blackberries, 8 cherries and raspberries, 1 cherries and dewberries, and 2 raspberries and beans. (Table 41.) A late frost had damaged the strawberry crop,[6] and some of the canneries which ordinarily started their season with strawberries had been unable to begin operations until raspberries were ripe. The cherry crop, also, was reported as only about 50 per cent normal in 1925.

TABLE 41.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Michigan canneries*

Product	Canneries visited				Persons employed			
	Total	Employing children under 16 years		Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years		Under 14 years
		Total	Under 14 years			Number	Per cent	
Total	35	31	11	4	2,428	229	9.4	26
Cherries only	10	10	2	-------	804	91	11.3	2
Cherries and raspberries	8	7	3	1	589	47	8.0	4
Raspberries	6	6	3	-------	209	41	19.6	7
Strawberries	3	2	1	1	178	22	12.4	11
Green beans	4	2	1	2	155	2	1.3	1
Blackberries	1	1	-------	-------	115	3	2.6	-------
Raspberries and string beans	1	1	-------	-------	120	12	10.0	-------
Raspberries and kidney beans	1	1	-------	-------	176	1	.6	-------
Cherries and dewberries	1	1	1	-------	82	10	12.2	1

[6] The production of strawberries in Michigan in 1925 was only about one-fifth as great as the crop for 1924, and about a fourth as great as the average production for the years 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1926. (U. S. Department of Agriculture: Yearbook of Agriculture, 1924 (p. 685) and 1926 (p. 917).)

Most of the canneries visited put up other crops at other seasons. Fifteen kinds of fruits and 13 kinds of vegetables and other products such as spaghetti and pork and beans were canned in these 35 establishments. Twenty canned both fruits and vegetables, 14 fruits only, and 1 vegetables only. One canned 19 products.

The 35 canneries visited were reported as employing 2,428 workers, an average of 69 per establishment. They varied from the small "home" cannery, with as few as five workers, mostly members of the owner's family, to plants with 200 or more. Fifteen establishments employed fewer than 50 persons, but 10 employed 100 or more, and 1 reported 250.

Proximity to the raw product seems to have been the determining factor in the location of the canneries. In many instances canning is the town's only industry. Few of the Michigan canneries are in large communities. Of the 35, 27 were in towns of less than 5,000 population, including 15 in places having less than 1,000 inhabitants and 6 in places having less than 500; 3 were in towns of between 5,000 and 10,000 population; and 5 were in towns of between 10,000 and 13,000 population.

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

The canneries visited were generally well built and in good repair. A number were comparatively new structures and many were freshly painted inside and out. Many of the canneries had only one building in which all the work of receiving, canning, and storing the product was done, though some had a group of two or three buildings, with a receiving shed or porch and a warehouse. The porch or shed, usually a part of the main building, was used not only as a receiving station but also as a place for vats in which cherries were soaked or as a workroom for snipping beans or sorting berries. Of the 35 canneries visited 16 were frame. Nine had but one story, and 6 had lofts up under the eaves used as storage spaces for empty cans, usually very hot places in which to work because of the lack of ventilation and low slanting roofs; 9 were two-story buildings, and several were three or four stories high.

In buildings with more than one story especial attention was paid to stairways. The labor law requires that stairways with substantial hand rails shall be provided in manufacturing establishments.[7] In all but five canneries they were either inclosed or well-railed, and in one of the five the stairway was railed though the steps had no backs. Four establishments used ladders, in two of which they were steep with flimsy railings along the side; in another cannery a ladder was the only means of reaching the can loft.

Many of the Michigan canneries had up-to-date equipment. Except in 7 canneries all used mechanical means for at least part of the work of conveying the product from one operation to another and usually also to bring empty cans to the packers. Mechanical conveyors were used in 11 of 17 canneries putting up cherries; in the others some hand carrying was done. Modern conveyors were used also for part of the work in canneries packing berries. In plants in which the fruit was not mechanically delivered to the women and girls who sorted and washed it, men or boys were employed to carry or truck the fruit to the workers and to take it away. The women and girls were

[7] Mich., Acts of 1909, No. 285, sec. 14, as amended by Acts of 1913, No. 160.

not as a rule required to lift or carry the fruit; in only 3 plants, 2 of them small, did inspectors or sorters have to go to the crates to lift out individual baskets of berries. In 1 of these canneries the girls were also obliged to carry the large pans filled with washed berries to the siruping table.

In canneries packing cherries inspectors worked at conveyor tables, that is, at moving belts with stationary edges of wood or metal. Establishments packing small fruits usually furnished only stationary tables for the workers who sorted and washed berries; only two used conveyor tables for sorting berries. Stationary tables were usually wood and in all but one cannery visited where the old, cracked, wooden tables were littered and dirty, were clean and well kept. A few tables were equipped with sinks and faucets for washing the berries after they were sorted. Several of the smaller canneries had no tables, the sorters sitting with the tin or enameled pans in which they sorted the berries on their laps or on chairs or boxes beside them.

The floors of the cannery workrooms were especially constructed to drain or carry off the waste. The most efficient systems had sloping floors and a sufficient number of drains (often with auxiliary drains in the wettest places), either screened or leading into a pipe sufficiently large to carry away solid waste without clogging. In 31 of the 35 canneries the main floors were of concrete; in 2, a combination of wood and concrete; and in 2 of wood. Floors in the second story, used largely for can storage, were often of wood. Notwithstanding the installation of drainage systems, floors were wet in nearly all the canneries in which the machinery was in operation at the time of the visits. In a number the floors of inspecting or sorting rooms were dry, but those of processing rooms were very wet.

Boards, stands, or raised platforms were generally provided where necessary, but in 11 canneries they were inadequate to keep the workers' feet dry. The women and girls at the inspection belt were seated on raised platforms in some canneries (in one case this platform was four feet from the floor), so that they were protected from the wet floors as long as they remained at their work places. Packers and weighers were more likely to have wet feet than inspectors and sorters, as they stood near pitting machines where the floors were especially sloppy from cherry juice dripping from the machines and the boards on which they stood were seldom adequate. Many of the men and boys working near the pitters and soaking vats wore rubber boots.

The State labor law provides that all persons who employ women and girls in a designated list of establishments, including "manufactures," shall be required to furnish "proper and suitable" seats for all such females, and shall permit the use of such seats "as may be necessary."[8] Although seats for some of the women workers were provided in all the canneries visited, a considerable number of girls under 16, 42 out of 154 employed in the canneries visited, were standing at their work. Girls who weighed cherries or packed or washed fruit frequently stood. In one cannery stools were provided, but the women and girls used them to rest crates of berries on. In another, chairs were provided, but the women were standing and the superintendent explained that the girls and women could work faster if

[8] Mich., Acts of 1909, No. 285, Sec. 24.

they stood. The type of seat varied from metal chairs with backs, to wooden stools, benches, or camp chairs, or, as in two establishments, boxes or pails with bags for cushions. In one cannery, sorters were seated so closely together on a bench between the conveyor and the wall that one could not get out unless all the others stood up and she walked along the bench.

A sufficient number of separate toilets for each sex, plainly designated, and at least one toilet for each 25 persons are required by the Michigan labor law. Toilet facilities of 32 plants were inspected. On the whole they were found in fairly good condition. With a few exceptions the canneries had the number specified in the law. Only 6 provided toilets of the privy or hopper type but 1 cannery with flush toilets for women had privies for men; all the others had flush toilets. The flush toilets usually opened off the main workroom, but privies were outside, in each case at some distance from the cannery, properly screened and marked.

Most of the canneries provided some washing facilities as required by law,[9] either in the toilet rooms or in the dressing rooms. In seven canneries sinks had been placed in the workrooms. Paper towels were usually furnished, and some establishments supplied soap. One cannery had installed a shower for men. In about half the canneries dressing rooms were provided, a few of which were furnished with lockers. One cannery had hooks just outside the dressing-room door covered with a curtain. One plant which had its washing facilities and hooks for garments in the cannery, had a small room behind the office where workers left their lunch baskets. This room had a cot and was used for first aid or in cases of illness. Another plant employed a matron to look after its dressing room.

THE LABOR SUPPLY

The canneries generally depend on local labor. At the height of the season several canneries sent out trucks daily to neighboring towns or to the surrounding country for additional workers. Only one of the canneries visited had imported labor in the year of the Children's Bureau survey. This cannery had brought in men workers from Ohio and women and girls from the surrounding country, and had housed both groups on the cannery premises. Living quarters, which were on the second floor of the warehouse, and meals were provided free of charge to these workers. A matron was in charge. The sleeping quarters for each sex and for married couples were in different parts of the building; the space assigned to each person, the ventilation, and the sanitary arrangements appeared adequate. The manager of another cannery said that in seasons of heavy crops he imported girls and women workers from Chicago, but for the past four years he had used only local labor. Almost all the local workers, and most of the imported workers, were apparently native born, chiefly of English or Irish stock, though a few were of German or Scandinavian origin.

[9] Mich., Acts of 1909, No. 285, sec. 17, as amended by Acts of 1915, No. 3. This law applies to all "manufacturing establishments where five or more persons are employed," and "every institution" in which two or more children, young persons, or women are employed.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

Except for the long hours of labor permitted—10 a day and 54 a week—the Michigan child labor law applying to general industrial employment [10] has fairly good standards, and it is one of the few laws with a minimum age for employment higher than 14. But many of its protective provisions do not apply to children in canneries. Its minimum age of 15 applies only to employment during school hours, and children of 14 are permitted to work at any time outside school hours, or during vacation, the time of year when almost all cannery work employing children is done. The provisions "in relation to the hours of employment" do not apply to or affect persons engaged in preserving [11] perishable goods in fruit and vegetable canning establishments. This qualification has been interpreted to exempt work in canneries not only from the maximum 10-hour day and 54-hour week fixed for boys under 18 and all girls and women employed in manufacturing, mercantile, and many other types of establishments, but also from the prohibition of the work of boys under 16 and girls under 18 in factories and workshops between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m.

A child 15 years of age working during school hours, or a child 14 or 15 years of age working at any other time, is required to obtain an employment certificate.[11a] To obtain such a certificate a child must present evidence that he is of legal working age. For work during school hours he must be able to read and write English and must have completed the sixth grade, and his wages must be essential to his own support or to that of his parents. The certificate must state that the requirements of literacy and economic need are met. For both school-time and vacation employment the issuing officer must state on the certificate that he has examined the child and that in his opinion he is of the age represented and is of normal physical development, in sound health, and physically able to perform the work he intends to do. The law further specifies that in doubtful cases the physical fitness of the child is to be determined by a medical officer of the board or department of health, thus making the requirement of an examination by a physician optional with the issuing officer.

Except for the lack of provisions for State supervision of issuing, the administrative provisions of the law—for example, the nature of the evidence required and the requirement that the employer return the certificate when the child leaves—are such as make for successful enforcement.

The provisions relating to dangerous occupations differ from those of most State laws in that there are no lists of hazardous industrial occupations which children must not enter. Minors under 18 are not to be allowed to clean machinery while in motion or work at "any hazardous employment, or where their health may be injured or morals depraved," but if between 16 and 18 years of age they [11b] may engage in any occupation (other than cleaning machinery in motion) provided it is approved by the department of labor and industry as not injurious

[10] Acts of 1909, No. 285, as amended by Acts of 1911, No. 220; Acts of 1915, No. 255; Acts of 1917, No. 280; Acts of 1919, No. 341; Acts of 1923, No. 206; Acts of 1925, No. 312.

[11] An amendment to this law passed in 1927 (Acts of 1927, No. 21) adds here the words "and shipping."

[11a] At the time of this study certificates were also required for children 16 years of age in places where continuation schools had been established, and in 1925 an amendment to the law (which did not go into effect, however, until after the conclusion of the study) raised the age up to which employment certificates were required throughout the State to 18 years. (Acts of 1925, No. 312.)

[11b] Before 1929 this provision applied to boys only. (Acts of 1929, No. 102.)

to health or morals or "unduly hazardous." At the time of this study no rulings applying to canneries had been made under this clause. The Michigan law also stipulates that females shall not be "unnecessarily required in any employment to remain standing constantly."

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

THE WORKING CHILDREN

Children under 16 were found at work in 31 of the 35 canneries. (Table 40.) Three of the four not employing children were small establishments with less than 25 workers, and the other, which had 100 workers, belonged to a company operating canneries in a number of States which made it a general policy to employ no one under 16. (See p. 62.) In the 31 canneries employing children 229 were found at work—9 per cent of the entire working force. Sixty-seven per cent of the employed children were girls, though female workers constituted only 59 per cent of the total number employed.

AGES OF CHILDREN AND VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

Twenty-six children, 16 girls and 10 boys, under 14 years of age, the legal minimum for employment in canneries in Michigan, were found at work in 11 canneries. (Table 40.) All except 10 were 13 years of age, and these 10 included 5 boys and 3 girls of 12, 1 girl of 11, and 1 boy of 10. The underage children were 11 per cent of the children employed in the Michigan canneries visited. One cannery employed 11 of them, 9 girls and 2 boys, all of whom were capping strawberries. The work of both boys and girls under 14 was usually light—sorting and washing berries, packing berries in cans, straightening cans on the line, handling empty cans—but one 13-year-old boy crated cans. (Table 42.)

KINDS OF WORK

Canneries putting up nothing but cherries employed 91 of the children; canneries packing berries—raspberries, strawberries, or blackberries—employed 66, and those packing both cherries and berries employed 57. All except 15 children (93 per cent) were found in canneries packing cherries or berries or both, compared with 82 per cent of the total number of workers in the canneries employing children. Almost no children worked in the canneries packing only beans or beans and other crops. (Table 41.)

At the time of the visits 82 of the 154 girls were on work connected with the preparation of fruit, such as sorting and inspecting cherries, sorting or washing raspberries or blackberries, or capping strawberries. (Table 42.) The largest number of girls in any one occupation was the 46 who sorted or inspected cherries at conveyor tables, work which demanded a good deal of speed and concentration; 18 others sorted and washed berries, and 18 capped strawberries, which were simpler tasks. Twenty-three girls were packers, filling cans with the prepared fruit; 13 were employed "on the line" to weigh berries or watch, inspect, and straighten the filled cans or put sirup in them as they passed on the belt on the way to the closing machine; and 17 were can girls. The work of the girls was comparatively light with

the exception of that of the can girls, of 3 girls who worked at the cherry-pitting machine (putting empty cans under the machine and removing them when filled), and of several others who piled and stacked filled cans and trucked and piled wooden boxes, work that boys usually do. No girl operated a machine.

TABLE 42.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Michigan canneries*

Product and process, and sex of children	Boys and girls under 16 years employed								
	Under 16 years						Under 14 years		
	Total		Boys		Girls				
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Total	Boys	Girls
Total	229		75		154		26	10	16
Total reported	227	100.0	74	100.0	153	100.0	26	10	16
Special processes:									
Cherries	68	30.0	15	20.3	53	34.6			
Sorting and inspecting	47	20.7	1	1.4	46	30.1			
Taking off cherry pitter	9	4.0	6	8.1	3	2.0			
Carrying	7	3.1	7	9.5					
Packing	4	1.8			4	2.6			
Other	1	.4	1	1.4					
Berries	67	29.5	7	9.5	60	39.2	16	2	14
Capping strawberries	22	9.7	4	5.4	18	11.8	11	2	9
Sorting or washing raspberries or blackberries	19	8.4	1	1.4	18	11.8	3		3
Packing	19	8.4			19	12.4	2		2
Carrying	2	.9	2	2.7					
Other	5	2.2			5	3.3			
Beans: Snipping	1	.4			1				
General occupations	91	40.1	52	70.3	39	25.5	10	8	2
Can boy or girl	39	17.2	22	29.7	17	11.1	6	5	1
Line jobs	22	9.7	8	10.8	14	9.2	1		1
Other	30	13.2	22	29.7	8	5.2	3	3	
Not reported	2		1		1				

Unlike the girls only a few boys (6) helped prepare fruit for canning. The great majority did general work, including 22 can boys, 8 who worked "on the line" siruping cans or inspecting or guiding cans to the closing and filling machines, and 22 who were employed in miscellaneous jobs, some of which required physical strength, such as piling and stacking cans or cases, loading boxes on trucks, and taking cans from the closing machine and piling them in crates. Nine other boys did such heavy tasks as carrying crates of boxes of cherries or pans of berries from one operation to another. Only 1 boy operated a power machine, but 6 removed cherries from pitting machines.

Undoubtedly more children would have been found at work in the Michigan canneries had the strawberry and cherry crops been normal or had the visits been made at the height of the bean-canning season. According to an official who issued employment certificates in one county where no strawberries were canned the year of the survey,

strawberry capping called for more children than any other kind of cannery work. Only 5 of the 12 canneries visited that packed green beans in season were working on beans at the time the visits were made, and only one child was found at work snipping beans. The manager of one of these canneries which had just started its work on string beans said that he had 12 or 15 permits on file for children so that they could go to work as soon as needed. Another cannery, which when visited during the cherry-packing season was employing only 10 children under 16, when revisited three weeks later during the bean-packing season had approximately 65 children snipping beans. However, several canneries sent out their beans to be snipped in the worker's homes or sent them to snipping stations in other parts of the State. Fruit picking gives employment to a large number of children in Michigan some of whom might otherwise have been employed in canneries. According to one cannery manager the children preferred cherry picking to cannery work as it was steadier. An issuing officer said that at least one-third of the children of working age in his county engaged in the harvesting of fruit, particularly grapes. In another county it was said that the largest employment of children was in the fruit orchards.

HOURS OF WORK

In most of the canneries visited children followed the regular schedule of the establishment which, if it was running full time, was usually 10 hours. A number of canneries occasionally worked at night also, and most of these employed the child workers as long hours as the adults. Some, however, were running irregular hours and owing to the shortage of the strawberry and cherry crops had operated but few full days at the time that the visits were made; others which had been operating on slack time had just begun to run full time. The hours of work, therefore, were shorter no doubt than in a normal canning season. One cannery manager said that they were working only 50 per cent of the hours in normal years, and several others said that although a day and a night shift had been employed the year before the survey only one shift was working at that time.

Although the hours of workers in Michigan fruit and vegetable canneries are not regulated, satisfactory time records (that is, records giving the hour of beginning and of ending work each day and the hour of beginning and ending the lunch period) at least for persons employed on an hourly or a weekly basis were found in 25 of the 31 canneries in which children were employed. Records of the total number of daily hours worked were kept for time workers in 5 other canneries. The only cannery having no records employed five persons, all members of the family. Compared with canneries in States that canned principally tomatoes, the Michigan canneries had few children on piecework. No time records were found for these, children engaged chiefly in sorting raspberries or capping strawberries, and information as to their hours was furnished by their parents, adult witnesses of their work, or their employers.

Daily hours.

Information as to the number of hours worked a day was obtained for 221 of the 229 children. Of these 205 (93 per cent) had worked more than 8 hours a day. (Table 43.) What is more surprising

is that, in spite of the poor canning season, 144 children (66 per cent) had worked 10 hours or more, the maximum legal working day for Michigan children engaged in industrial employment other than canning. Fifty-two children (24 per cent), including 31 girls, had worked 12 hours or more, 16, including 9 girls, had worked 14 hours or more, and 2 boys had worked 16 hours or more. Two boys and 13 girls under 14 years of age were employed more than 8 hours. Boys had somewhat longer working hours than girls, a working day of 12 hours or more being reported for 30 per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls.

TABLE 43.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Michigan canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed		
	Total		
	Number	Per cent distribution	Under 14 years [1]
Total	229		26
Total reported	221	100.0	19
8 hours and under	16	7.2	4
Over 8 hours	205	92.8	15
10 hours and over	144	65.2	12
12 hours and over	52	23.5	
14 hours and over	16	7.2	
16 hours and over	2	.9	
Irregular	6		6
Not reported	2		1
Boys	75		10
Total reported	70	100.0	5
8 hours and under	6	8.6	3
Over 8 hours	64	91.4	2
10 hours and over	51	72.9	1
12 hours and over	21	30.0	
14 hours and over	7	10.0	
16 hours and over	2	2.9	
Irregular	4		4
Not reported	1		1
Girls	154		16
Total reported	151	100.0	14
8 hours and under	10	6.6	1
Over 8 hours	141	93.4	13
10 hours and over	93	61.6	11
12 hours and over	31	20.5	
14 hours and over	9	6.0	
Irregular	2		2
Not reported	1		

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

The kind of work appeared to have but little influence on hours. Children who were preparing or packing fruit, nearly all of whom were girls, worked about the same hours as children in miscellaneous or general work, a majority of whom were boys. Of 108 children reporting hours who sorted cherries or raspberries, capped strawberries, or packed fruit into cans, 64 per cent had worked 10 and 20 per

cent 12 hours or more, and of 86 children employed as can boys or girls, working "on the line," or in miscellaneous jobs about the plant 63 per cent had worked 10 and 27 per cent 12 hours or more. Nine of the girls had had a working day of at least 14 hours; 5 of these packed berries, 1 sorted cherries, 1 snipped beans, and 2 worked "on the line" inspecting cans. Two boys who took cans from the closing machine and piled them into crates, 2 who did odd jobs, and 1 can boy also worked 14 hours or more. The longest hours were those of 2 boys in the same cannery, of whom one, 15 years of age, had been employed for a working day of 16½ hours to carry crates of fruit, and the other, 14 years of age, had operated a closing machine for 17 hours.

Weekly hours.

On account of the poor crops many of the canneries had been working irregularly up to the time the visits were made and many of the children had not been employed a full week. Information regarding weekly hours of work based on time records of children who had worked at least a five-day week was, therefore, available for only 17 boys and 17 girls (15 per cent of those found employed). These children were employed in 11 of the 31 canneries employing children. Thirty-one had worked more than 48 hours and 25 had worked 60 hours or more. All except five of the girls whose hours were reported were cherry sorters, and most of the boys had done general or miscellaneous work. Three boys—one of whom piled cans in crates, the second stacked filled cans, and the third operated a closing machine—had had a working week of more than 70 hours. (Table 44.)

TABLE 44.—*Number of hours of work in typical week of boys and girls of specified ages employed in Michigan canneries*

Number of hours of work in a typical week and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed	
	Total	Under 14 years
Total	229	26
Total reported	34	
48 hours and under	3	
Over 48 hours	31	
60 hours and over	25	
70 hours and over	3	
Not reported	195	26
Boys	75	10
Total reported	17	
48 hours and under	1	
Over 48 hours	16	
60 hours and over	13	
70 hours and over	3	
Not reported	58	10
Girls	154	16
Total reported	17	
48 hours and under	2	
Over 48 hours	15	
60 hours and over	12	
Not reported	137	16

Night work.

In spite of relatively slack work in the Michigan canneries during the year of the survey, 72 children (31 per cent) of the 229 had been employed at night (that is, between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.) on one or more nights. These included two 13-year-old girls. They were employed in 12 canneries, including most of those running at least full time when the visits were made, which canned either cherries or raspberries or both and were located in eight counties.

Up to the time the visits were made, when several canneries in which night work was reported had just started to operate full time, the children had worked but few nights. Of 48 children who reported the nights they had worked, 11 had worked three nights and 4 had worked four nights in the previous week, the others only one or two nights. The majority had been employed from 2 to 3 hours in the evening; in most cases these children had worked between 7 and 9 or 10 o'clock, but 8 had worked 4 hours or more. Sixteen had worked until at least 11, of whom 5 had not quit until 12 p. m. or later.

Most of the boys employed at night did general or miscellaneous work, such as packing and stacking cans, piling them in crates, and inspecting cans on the line, or they were can boys. Many of the girls sorted or inspected cherries or packed raspberries. In one of the four canneries in which children had worked until 11 p. m. or later five of the girls working at night were raspberry packers; in another cannery two girls who were cherry sorters worked until 11 and two others who adjusted cans on the line worked until 12 p. m. In another cannery a boy who carried crates of fruit had worked the week preceding the visit until after 10.30 one night and until 12.30 another, and another boy, who operated a closing machine and whose time record showed a 74¾-hour week, had worked four nights, one night until after 12.30 a. m.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Information as to the school grade completed or last attended was obtained for 221 of the 229 employed children. (Table 45.) Seventy-six per cent had completed or attended the eighth grade, including 42 per cent who had entered high school; only 3 per cent had not attended or completed the sixth grade. According to average standards (see footnote 18a, p. 47) children of 14 years who have not completed the seventh grade and children of 15 years who have not completed the eighth are considered overage for their grades. Of the children in Michigan canneries who were 14 years of age, 90 per cent had attended if they had not all completed the seventh grade and of the 15-year-old children 93 per cent had attended or completed the eighth. The school attainment of the children of these ages in Michigan canneries compares favorably with that of children of the same ages found at work in Indiana and Wisconsin canneries and is much higher than that of the children working in Delaware and Maryland canneries. (See pp. 73, 198–199, 47 and 114–115.)

Work on the principal crops canned in Michigan, at least in the western counties where the Children's Bureau visits were made, does not interfere with school attendance, as the season for canning cherries, berries, and beans falls in the summer vacation.

TABLE 45.—*Last school grade attended or completed by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Michigan canneries*

Grade and sex	Children under 16 years employed			
	Total	Under 14 years	14 years	15 years
Total	229	26	88	115
Total reported	221	25	84	112
Under fifth grade	2	1		1
Fifth grade	4	3	1	
Sixth grade	15	7	7	1
Seventh grade	32	8	18	6
Eighth grade	76	6	31	39
Ninth grade	55		21	34
Tenth grade	28		5	23
Eleventh grade	9		1	8
Not reported	8	1	4	3
Boys	75	10	28	37
Total reported	71	9	27	35
Under fifth grade	1	1		
Sixth grade	7	5	2	
Seventh grade	9	3	4	2
Eighth grade	27		14	13
Ninth grade	14		5	9
Tenth grade	10		1	9
Eleventh grade	3		1	2
Not reported	4	1	1	2
Girls	154	16	60	78
Total reported	150	16	57	77
Under fifth grade	1			1
Fifth grade	4	3	1	
Sixth grade	8	2	5	1
Seventh grade	23	5	14	4
Eighth grade	49	6	17	26
Ninth grade	41		16	25
Tenth grade	18		4	14
Eleventh grade	6			6
Not reported	4		3	1

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

Children of 14 and 15 years of age going to work in Michigan canneries are required by law to obtain employment certificates. (See p. 140.) The Children's Bureau found 124 (54 per cent of the employed minors under 16 years of age) working without certificates. (Table 46.) Violations of the certificate law were found in 25 of the 31 canneries visited employing children. In only 6 canneries were certificates found on file for all the children of certificate age, in only 13 for some of the children, and in 12 canneries, more than a third of the total number, no certificates were on file for any of the employed children.

In several canneries children working without certificates said they had them at home but they had never been asked for them by the cannery. The manager of a small cherry-pitting station employing only one boy under 16, said that he did not know that certificates were required. In general, however, Michigan canners appeared to be aware that children under 16 had to have certificates for employ-

ment and some appeared to be careful in obtaining them, though several were not sufficiently familiar with the provisions of the law to know what persons were authorized to issue certificates in their communities, or what was the proper form to be used in certification. In two canneries statements from priests on church stationery had been accepted as certificates. All the so-called certificates on file in one cannery were merely letters, generally on plain stationery, signed by the secretary of the local school board or by a school principal, or in one case by the superintendent of schools. (See p. 150.) In another cannery all certificates on file had been issued on the forms intended for applications for certificates, not on the regular certificate forms. In the case of 10 children the certificates on file were made out for employment in a different cannery from that in which they were found working.

TABLE 46.—*Number of canneries visited employing children under 16 years of age, number employing children without employment certificates, number of children of specified ages employed, and number employed without employment certificates in canneries in certain counties of Michigan*

County	Canneries visited		Children under 16 years employed					
	Total	Employing children without certificates	Under 16 years		14 years, under 16		Under 14 years	
			Total	Without certificates	Total	Without certificates	Total	Without certificates
Total	31	24	229	124	203	98	26	26
Allegan	2	1	17	2	16	1	1	1
Antrim	1		10		10			
Benzie	2	2	3	2	3	2		
Berrien	6	5	24	17	20	13	4	4
Grand Traverse	3	3	41	14	41	14		
Kent	1		1		1			
Leelenau	1	1	11	3	10	2	1	1
Mason	1		12		12			
Muskegon	1	1	12	6	12	6		
Newago	1		1		1			
Oceana	3	3	27	25	16	14	11	11
Ottawa	2	2	33	26	31	24	2	2
Van Buren	7	6	37	29	30	22	7	7

The lack of certificates was explained by the managers of several canneries as the result of the difficulty in getting anyone to issue them in their community. One manager said that when his establishment had opened he had been told by the local superintendent of schools that he did not need employment certificates but that he had finally persuaded the latter to issue them. A canner who had requested the local superintendent of schools to issue certificates had been informed that the superintendent had no certificate forms and that the canner would have to send to Lansing for forms if he wanted them. As there was not time for this the canner had copies of an old certificate form typed and had all the required information filled in in the cannery office, the only responsibility the superintendent took regarding the certificates being to sign them.

ISSUING OFFICERS

The Michigan law provides that employment certificates shall be issued by the district superintendent of schools or the county commissioner of schools (who is the county superintendent in Michigan) or some one duly authorized by either in writing. Representatives of the bureau interviewed 31 issuing officers in the 13 counties in which canneries were visited. Ten of these were county commissioners of schools and 10 were superintendents of schools of towns or districts. In two of the larger communities the local superintendent had authorized other members of the school staff to issue for him, in one case the director of the continuation school, in the other the superintendent's secretary. In six towns in which the local superintendent usually issued certificates, this officer was on vacation, and the interview was held with the person authorized to issue certificates in his absence—in one place the president and in two others the secretary of the local school board, in another a former secretary of the school board who was cashier of the local bank, and in two other places local business men who had no connection with the school system. In one town, where the superintendent of schools had resigned at the close of the school year, the township clerk, an insurance agent, had been appointed to issue certificates until the arrival of the new superintendent in the fall. The regular issuing officer in a number of communities was away at summer school or on vacation at the time of the inquiry, and no one had been appointed to issue certificates in his place. In one such place the parents of a child who wanted to work in the local cannery had applied to the judge of the probate court, who, thinking that the law gave him power to issue certificates, had issued one to the child. The other children working in these communities had had to dispense with certificates unless they had obtained them before the superintendent left town. In one town a priest was issuing certificates to children attending a school of which he was in charge, or who had been baptized in the church with which it was connected, on forms which at his request had been furnished him by the county superintendent of schools, though apparently the latter had not given him due authority in writing to issue certificates, as the law requires.

CERTIFICATE FORMS

The child labor law provides for two kinds of employment certificates: The regular certificate for employment at any time during the year, and the so-called "limited vacation permit" issued for work during vacation periods and on Saturdays or other days during the school year when schools are not in session. The majority of the children under 16 in the canneries for whom certificates were on file were employed on limited vacation permits, but many had been issued the regular permit used for children released from school for employment, apparently with the understanding that they were only for vacation employment and that the child would return to school.

A number of children had been issued certificates on a certificate blank which did not provide a space for the name of the employer. The law does not require that the employer's name be entered on

the certificate but it requires that certificates be returned by the employer to the issuing officer on the termination of each position, and other forms used for both regular and vacation certificates provide space for the name of each employer. Even where these latter forms were used, however, in 43 cases the name of the employer had not been entered on the certificate in the space provided.[12]

In several places papers had been filed purporting to be permits for employment that did not in any way meet with the requirements of the certificate law, which though not prescribing the use of any particular form contains the following paragraph:

> Every such permit or certificate shall be signed in the presence of the officer issuing the same by the child in whose name it is issued; and shall state the date and place of birth of the child, and describe the color of the hair and eyes the height and weight and any distinguishing facial marks of such child, and that the paper required by the preceding sections has been duly received, examined, approved and filed, and that the child named in such permit or certificate has appeared before the issuing official and been examined.[13]

The following are given as samples of the so-called permits found on file in one cannery. It will be noted that two persons other than the superintendent of schools and the secretary of the school board, whom he had designated to issue certificates in his absence, had signed them.

On plain stationery:

————, Michigan, June 16, 1925.

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby certify that I think ———, daughter of ——— should be allowed to work in the canning factory during the present summer vacation.

——— for Director of School District No. —

On official stationery of superintendent of schools:

June 17, 1925.

The school records show Miss ——— to be sixteen years of age. Permission is hereby given her to work.

——— Supt.

On plain stationery:

————, Mich., June 17, 1925.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that ——— is permitted to work during this summer vacation.

Respectfully yours,

———, Principal.

On envelope of school board:

Work Permit. June 17, 1925.

Permission is hereby given ———— to work during the summer vacation period.

———, ———,

Sec'y, Board of Education.

Another issuing officer, the president of the local board of education who issued certificates only during the summer months, used the following form typed on the stationery of the bank of which he was an officer:

---

[12] According to information received from the State department of public instruction, which has formulated and distributed employment-certificate forms, no standard forms were in use in the summer of 1925. Standard forms have been since provided.

[13] Mich., Acts of 1909, No. 285, sec. 10, as amended by Acts of 1915, No. 255; Acts of 1917, No. 280; Acts of 1923, No. 206; Acts of 1925, No. 312. (A 1925 amendment, which did not go into effect until after the conclusion of this study, related only to the age up to which certificates were required.)

——— Savings Bank,
July 14, 1925.

To ——— Canning Co.

We hereby permit you to employ Miss ——— age — and Miss ——— age — in your factory.

———, Pres.,
Board of Education, Dist. —

In a city with a population of 12,000 where the issuing officer, who was the local attendance officer, was away for the summer and had appointed no one to issue in her absence, the following forms were found on file in addition to a number of certificates issued on proper forms:

June 4, 1925.

This is to certify that ——— is 14 years of age and permitted to work in the ——— Canning Co. during school vacation.

———
Sec'y. of School Dist. No.—

June 17, 1925.

This is to certify that ——— has passed the eighth grade examination and was granted a permit to work in a cannery.

Signed by

———
Director.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ISSUANCE

Evidence of age.

Under the child labor law, the evidence of age required for an employment certificate is a passport or a transcript of a record of birth "kept by any duly authorized public authority," a baptismal or other religious record, or, in case none of these can be produced, a statement from a physician connected officially with the board or department of health, certifying to the age of the child and stating that he is in sound health and physically able to undertake the work he intends to do. The issuing officer may require also a parent's affidavit of the child's age or other corroborative evidence in addition to the physician's certificate of age.

As the certificate forms used did not provide a place for entering the type of evidence accepted by the issuing officer, it was not possible to ascertain, as in most of the other States included in the Children's Bureau study, on what type of evidence the certificates on file for children employed in the Michigan canneries had been issued. Some information regarding the kind of evidence accepted was obtained from the issuing officers interviewed. Little uniformity in procedure had been followed by different issuing officers except that in hardly any case did the issuing officer state that he followed exactly the procedure prescribed by law, and only about one-third of the 32 issuing officers interviewed said that they required a birth record. Some of these said they attempted to get birth records only for children born in the local community or county. Those who tried to get birth certificates did not make any attempt except in a very few cases to obtain other documentary evidence, if birth records were not available, but contented themselves with a parent's affidavit, in some cases requiring also a statement of physical age as provided for under the law, but more often not. Seven issuing officers relied on the school census or school record, which is not legally acceptable evidence under the Michigan child labor law, as proof of age for

children who had attended the local schools. Ten said they made no attempt to get any proof of age but took the child's or the parent's word, one issuing officer declaring that he could tell a child's age by his appearance, and another that as he knew every one in town he did not need to obtain evidence. Most of the issuing officers who required no evidence were those who issued only in the absence of the superintendent of schools (only two of the substitute officers stated that they made any attempt to obtain birth records or other legal evidence of age), but four regular issuing officers (two of whom were county commissioners, one the local superintendent of schools, and the fourth the secretary of the local board of education) said that they accepted the child's or the parent's word as to age, at least in issuing certificates for vacation employment.[14]

In spite of the fact that so many issuing officers admitted that they made little attempt, if any, to obtain adequate documentary evidence of age as provided under the law, on only 5 of the 105 certificates found on file in Michigan canneries was the birth date found to be incorrect. In the case of each of these certificates, 3 of which were issued by officers who said they accepted the child's or parent's word as to age, the child was found to be younger than the age given. That good evidence of age can be obtained for a large proportion of the children employed in Michigan is shown by the fact that the Children's Bureau found birth records for 74 per cent of those found at work in the canneries.

Proof of physical fitness.

None of the issuing officers visited had taken advantage of the clause in the law allowing him to require an examination of the child by a physician to determine his physical fitness for work (see p. 140), with the exception of one officer who in granting regular certificates for work during school hours required a physical examination if the child looked "weak."

STATE SUPERVISION

The child labor law makes no provision for the supervision of certificate issuance by any State agency. The State department of public instruction has drafted employment-certificate forms, however, and these were used by all but a few of the issuing officers interviewed. No instructions for the guidance of officers in issuing certificates had been prepared by State authorities [15] as had been done in Indiana (see p. 81), and in Maryland (see p. 125), and only one of the issuing officers interviewed said that he had any supervision or assistance in the issuance of certificates from a State agency. This one officer had been visited shortly before the Children's Bureau survey by a State factory inspector who had explained to her the necessity of entering the employers' names on the certificates. No other issuing officer reported a visit from a factory inspector, nor was there apparently any consultation by correspondence regarding problems of certificate issuance.

---

[14] The two county commissioners stated that they required documentary evidence from applicants for regular certificates, in one case a birth record, in the other a school census record.

[15] According to information received from the State department of public instruction directions for issuing certificates were sent by that department to issuing officers in the fall of 1925.

SUMMARY

In value of product, Michigan ranks fifth among the States in fruit canning, cherries being the principal crop, though many kinds of vegetables also are canned in the State. Of the 78 canneries the Children's Bureau visited 35, canning cherries, berries, and beans.

Only 1 of the 35 had imported labor during the season of the survey. Almost all the labor in the canneries visited was white and native born.

Two hundred and twenty-nine children under 16 were found at work in 31 canneries (9 per cent of the entire working force). Sixty-seven per cent of the working children were girls, and 26 (11 per cent of those employed) were under 14, the legal minimum age for employment in canneries in Michigan. The youngest working child was 10.

Girls sorted and inspected cherries, sorted and washed raspberries and blackberries, capped strawberries, filled cans, worked "on the line," doing such work as inspecting and siruping berries, were can girls, and in a few cases did other kinds of work. Boys were can boys, worked "on the line," piled and stacked cans or cases, loaded boxes onto trucks, removed cans from closing machines and piled them in crates, carried crates or boxes and pans of fruit, and in a few cases operated or worked in connection with machines.

Ninety-three per cent of the children had worked more than 8 hours a day, 66 per cent 10 hours or more, and 24 per cent 12 hours or more. Boys had somewhat longer working hours than girls; a working day of 12 hours or more was reported for 30 per cent of the boys and 21 per cent of the girls.

On account of poor crops canneries had been working so irregularly that many children had not been employed a full week during the season. Time records for at least a 5-day week were available for only 34 children.

Thirty-one per cent of the workers under 16 had been employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in 12 canneries, or most of those running full time. The maximum number of nights worked had been 4.

Cannery work in the Mighican counties surveyed did not interfere with school attendance, as the canning season for cherries, berries, and beans falls in the summer vacation.

Employment certificates were found for only 105 of the 229 children employed, though the Michigan child labor law at the time of the survey required all children under 16 employed in canneries to obtain certificates. (See footnote 11a, p. 140.) Of the 31 canneries visited, only 6 had certificates for all the employed children and only 13 had them for some; 12 had no certificates on file.

A number of children had been issued certificates on papers that did not in any way meet with the requirements of the certificate law. According to documentary evidence collected by the Children's Bureau on only 5 of the 105 certificates on file was the child's birth date found to be incorrect.

81531°—30——11

NEW YORK

INTRODUCTION

In the number of wage earners employed in 1925, New York ranked second only to California in the canning and preserving of fruits, vegetables, pickles, jellies, preserves, and sauces. It is thus the principal fruit-canning State east of the Pacific coast. Its product is diversified—New York leads all the States in the canning of beans, beets, kraut, cherries, raspberries, preserves, and sauces, and ranks second in the canning of peas, apples, and catchup.[1] The most important canning crops in the State, according to the value of the product, are peas, beans, corn, and cherries.

In the canning and preserving of fruits, vegetables, jellies, pickles, preserves, and sauces New York canneries employed in 1925 an average number of 7,517 wage earners.[2] During the four peak months, July, August, September, and October the number of wage earners reported was 14,638, 12,099, 14,377, and 11,129, respectively. Many canneries work throughout the year—the number reported by the census as employed on the 15th of February, the slackest month, was 3,184, or more than two-fifths of the average for the year,[3] an unusually large proportion for fruit and vegetable canneries. (See p. 5.)

Child labor in the canneries of New York has had a long and interesting history. In 1903 the canners of the State made an effort to put through the legislature a bill which would entirely exempt fruit and vegetable canneries during school vacation from the minimum age of 14 and the employment-certificate requirement for children between 14 and 16 which at that time applied to children at work in all factories. The bill failed of passage, but in 1905 the State attorney general ruled that employment "in connection with any factory" did not apply to work in cannery sheds since these were "devoid of machinery, in the open air, unconnected with a factory and not subject to the discipline and hours governing factory employment."[4] Thus the child labor law so far as canneries were concerned was practically annulled. Although a study of cannery conditions conducted by the State department of labor during the summer of 1907 revealed extensive employment of young children for long hours,[5] not until the fruit and vegetable canneries of the State in 1912 was the real extent New York Factory Investigating Commission made a study of the of child labor in the canneries and sheds revealed. At that time, 1,355 children under 16 years were found doing cannery work in the State, almost all of whom were employed in the cannery sheds. These included 952 children under 14 years of age and 141 under 10

[1] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 16–23. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.
[2] Ibid., p. 22.
[3] Ibid., pp. 6–8.
[4] Report on the Work of Women and Children in Canneries, in Annual Report of the Bureau of Factory Inspection, for the year ended Sept. 30, 1908, pp. 337–340. New York State Department of Labor. Albany, 1910.
[5] Ibid., pp. 416–421.

years. The inspectors found children at work in the sheds from 4.30 a. m. until 10 p. m. Records of children under 14 working 14, 15, 16, and 17 hours were obtained.[6]

Following this investigation, the State law was amended in 1913 to include cannery sheds by definition under the provisions of the labor law. In 1914 State inspectors found approximately 300 children under 14 at work in the cannery sheds of the State,[7] in violation of the law, compared with more than 900 at work two years before. Two hundred and thirty of the 300 children were employed by two canners. Although 30 prosecutions were instituted only two convictions were secured. It was encouraging, however, that the great majority of the canners were obeying the law.

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

According to the Canners' Directory for 1925, New York had 170 establishments canning and preserving fruits, vegetables, pickles, jellies, preserves, and sauces.[8] These were located in 28 of the 62 counties, chiefly the fruit and vegetable raising counties in the western part of the State, the great majority being in the two northern tiers of counties lying between Utica and Buffalo.

In the Children's Bureau survey 54 fruit and vegetable canneries were visited in September, 1925, and 18 in July, 1926. These plants were in 18 counties in the principal canning sections of the State. (Table 47.) As 16 of them were not operating at the time of the visit an investigation including a study of records and conditions of work was possible in only 56 establishments in 16 counties. Of these, 45, in 14 counties, were visited in September, 1925, and 11, in 6 counties, in July, 1926.

The canning season, except for plants with a great variety of products, opens in New York about the middle of June and closes by the middle of November or the first of December. Pea canning begins usually about July 15 and extends into the early part of August, although some early peas are canned the latter part of June. Cherries ripen about the same time, but the canning period is somewhat longer than for peas. The canning of beans begins in August, about the time the work on peas is completed, and lasts into September. Three weeks, beginning during the first week in September, cover the rush period on corn and tomatoes.

The chief perishable products being canned at the time of the bureau inquiry in September, 1925, were corn and tomatoes or tomato products: 19 establishments were canning corn and 15 tomatoes or tomato products. (Table 48.) Four were finishing the season's work on string beans, [9] 5 were canning beets, 1, lima beans, 1, spinach, and 1, kraut and pickles. Pears were being packed in 7 canneries, peaches in 3, plums in 3, and apples in 1. Thirty-two of the 45 were working on only one crop but at other seasons 40 canned other fruits or vegetables, including asparagus, succotash, pork and beans, pumpkins, squash, raspberries, strawberries, plums, and rhubarb.

---

[6] Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 762-802. Albany, 1913.
[7] Fourteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1914, pp. 137-147. Albany, 1915.
[8] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 131-137. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C. The United States Census of Manufactures for 1925 lists 211 establishments in New York canning these products.
[9] One of these establishments did no canning but only graded the beans.

TABLE 47.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed in canneries in certain counties of New York*

County	Canneries visited				Persons employed		
	Total	Employing children under 16 years		Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years	Under 14 years [1]
		Total	Under 14 years				
Total	56	34	5	22	7,171	121	14
1925: Total	45	26	4	19	5,988	109	13
Cattaraugus	1	1	1		85	3	1
Chautauqua	6	6	2		1,066	54	11
Erie	2	2			150	6	
Genesee	2	2			270	5	
Livingston	1	1			203	1	
Madison	3	1		2	181	2	
Monroe	10	4	1	6	1,617	16	1
Niagara	2	2			65	6	
Oneida	6	1		5	427	1	
Ontario	2	1		1	305	1	
Orleans	3	2		1	785	6	
Oswego	1	1			147	3	
Seneca	1	1			120	2	
Wayne	5	1		4	567	3	
1926: Total	11	8	1	3	1,183	12	1
Cortland	2	2			165	2	
Genesee	2	1		1	590	2	
Monroe	1	1			75	2	
Onondaga	2	2			102	3	
Orleans	3	2	1	1	101	3	1
Wayne	1			1	150		

[1] In 1925 all children under 14 were 13 years old.

TABLE 48.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing children of specified ages, number of persons and number of children of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in New York canneries*

Product	Canneries visited			Persons employed				
	Total	Employing children under 16 years	Not employing children under 16 years	All ages	Under 16 years			Under 14 years
					Total	Boys	Girls	
Total	56	34	22	7,171	121	41	80	14
1925: Total	45	26	19	5,988	109	31	78	13
Tomatoes and tomato products	8	5	3	740	17	4	13	
Tomatoes only	7	4	3	440	11	4	7	
Catchup	1	1		300	6		6	
Corn	12	6	6	999	8	3	5	
Beets	4	3	1	298	7	1	6	1
Green and wax beans	2	1	1	124	3	1	2	
Pears	4	2	2	459	5	1	4	
Peaches	1	1		25	2		2	
Apples	1		1	62				
More than one product	13	8	5	3,281	67	21	46	12
Tomatoes and corn	3	3		1,345	12	3	9	
Tomatoes and green and wax beans	1	1		90	3	1	2	2
Other	9	4	5	1,846	52	17	35	10
1926: Total	11	8	3	1,183	12	10	2	1
Peas	7	5	2	1,005	7	7		1
Cherries	1	1		37	2		2	
More than one product	3	2	1	141	3	3		

At the time of the visits in July, 1926, peas and cherries were being canned. (Table 48.) Seven establishments were canning only peas and 1 only cherries; 2 both peas and cherries; and 1, cherries, currants, and other berries. At other seasons 8 of the 11 canneries visited canned other vegetables or fruits.

The 45 canneries visited in 1925, chiefly tomato and corn canneries, were reported as employing 5,988 persons, an average number of 133 persons per establishment,[10] the largest number reported for any of the States except Washington included in the Children's Bureau survey. (See p. 3.) Establishments varied considerably in the number employed; 22 of the 45 had under 75 employees, but 9 had 200 or more, a larger proportion than was found in any of the other States. Three of the large canneries reported 500 or more workers, including one with 700. The larger canneries were in general those canning more than one product at the time of the survey, the 13 in this group employing an average of 252 employees as compared with 83 employees for the 12 packing corn only and 63 for the 7 packing tomatoes only.

The establishments visited in 1926, canning chiefly peas and cherries, averaged a somewhat smaller number of workers—108—and included only one having 200 or more employees, the number of workers reported for this cannery being 450. The number of employees in the canneries working exclusively on peas averaged 144 or somewhat more than the establishments canning other single crops.

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

Most of the canneries visited were relatively large establishments with up-to-date equipment. Generally they had a main building with a porch or shed attached, a storage building, and an office building; a few had at least five or six buildings. Main cannery buildings in which most of the work of preparing and processing was done were seldom fireproof, but storage buildings or warehouses were frequently brick or concrete. The main buildings of several canneries operating from five or six months to the entire year were substantially constructed of brick.

Sheds were usually of light frame construction and open on two or three sides; several of them were like porches, with the main entrance of the cannery opening on them. The work done in the cannery sheds at the time when the New York Factory Investigating Commission made its report in 1913—snipping beans or husking corn by hand—has been lessened considerably by the installation of machinery. Some of the sheds attached to the canneries visited in 1925 and 1926 were used only for receiving or washing the raw product; two were used for hand husking, one for peeling tomatoes, and others housed corn-husking machines, pea-vining machines, and automatic conveyors that carried the product into the main part of the cannery.

The buildings were on the whole in fair or good repair. Most of them had well-constructed stairways inclosed or equipped with hand rails as required by the State labor law.[11] Main buildings and sheds were lighted with electricity so that it was possible to operate at night.

[10] The number of wage earners reported by the United States Census as employed in the canning of fruits and vegetables in New York in the two peak months of the canning season (July and September) of 1925 was 14,638 and 14,377, or an average of approximately 68 wage earners for the 211 canneries reported by the census for the State. (Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 7-8, 22.)

[11] N. Y., Labor Law, sec. 272, par. 2.

In several old buildings with low ceilings and small windows artificial light was used all day. Ventilation appeared adequate in the majority, but in two canneries the main workroom was so filled with clouds of steam at the time the visit was made that it was hard to see across the room; the can loft of one establishment was so filled with steam that it could not be used, and in the loft of another a boy at work could not be seen at a distance of 3 feet on account of the steam.

Most of the plants were equipped with modern machinery. Twenty-three of the thirty-four in which children under 16 were employed, including all those packing corn and peas, used conveyor tables; 5 used some conveyor and some stationary tables and 6 had only stationary tables, depending on the product canned. Two which canned both corn and tomatoes used conveyor tables for sorting corn and stationary tables for peeling tomatoes. Mechanical methods of conveying the product from one operation to another were used exclusively in 9 of the 23 canneries which were furnished throughout with conveyor tables. In most of the others the product was transferred partly by conveyors and partly by laborers with pails or hand trucks; only 3 had no mechanical means for conveying. One large pea cannery which had particularly modern equipment resorted to hand labor only to push hand trucks with boxes of peas a few feet from one machine to another.

The main cannery buildings usually had concrete floors on the ground floor, at least, but 6 of the 34 had wooden floors throughout. Concrete floors are easier to drain and keep clean than wooden ones, but two were cracked and uneven so that the water stood in places. Most of the wooden floors were likewise in poor repair.

Although the cannery floors were equipped with drains, usually open grooves or conduits leading to an open drain pipe, some if not all floors were wet in 29 of the 34 establishments in which minors were employed. Slippery and soft particles of tomato, corn, or other products, water dripping from washers, condensed steam from cookers, and frequent hosing combined to make floors wet. Comparatively dry floors had been achieved in a few canneries by unusually good drainage systems.

The New York State Industrial Code provides that when floor drainage is inadequate, platforms, mats, or other dry standing places shall be provided for women.[12] Solid or slatted platforms were provided in 19 canneries, one of which had iron foot rests constructed under its peeling table at a convienient height from the floor. In some plants these foot platforms were useless, as the water was over the tops of them; girls in one plant wore rubbers but said that they did little good as the juice ran into their shoes. No attempt was made to provide dry standing places for the women in 6 canneries. Sometimes the workers' feet were wet on account of water and waste leaking down from the work tables or from the condensed moisture dripping from the ceilings.

The New York labor law requires that seats in sufficient number be provided women in all factories.[13] The provisions of the State child labor law also prohibit the employment of girls under 16 in any occupation which compels constant standing.[14] Seats for some of the women

[12] N. Y., Industrial Code, Rule 172, p. 51.
[13] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 4, sec. 150.
[14] Ibid., sec. 146.

workers were found in each of the plants, although in some seats were provided for workers only on certain processes. Packing the product into cans and feeding corn-husking machines were frequently done standing. Of the 80 girls under 16, 21, employed in 12 canneries, were obliged to stand constantly while working. Seats varied from painted iron chairs with foot rests or wooden chairs with backs to a motley assortment of stools, crates, or boxes. Nine canneries provided chairs with backs; in five, workers had only boxes or crates for seats. In one cannery the peelers were sitting on boxes piled on top of each other to bring them to the right height for the work table.

The labor law also required that a sufficient number of suitable and convenient waterclosets for each sex be provided in every factory.[15] Twenty-four of the thirty-one plants reported upon had flush toilets, four had both flush and privy toilets, and three had only privies. All maintained separate toilets for each sex. A number were not kept in good condition.

Most canneries provided washing facilities, at least running water and a sink or a bowl, but only 8 furnished both soap and towels as required under the State industrial code in establishments in which food is manufactured.[16] Several canneries had well-equipped rest rooms for women. One had a woman attendant in charge of the rest room and first-aid supplies; another, a cannery that employed more than 500 persons, employed a full-time nurse and had a first-aid room with couch, screens, and supplies, as well as rest rooms for both sexes.

THE LABOR SUPPLY

The canneries visited were chiefly in towns of less than 5,000 population, including 8 in villages of less than 1,000, and 2 in communities of 200 to 300. Only 3 were in towns of between 5,000 and 7,000 and 6 in towns or cities of more than 10,000, including 1 in the factory district of Rochester.

In the larger places the cannery is usually unobtrusive, partly because it seeks the edge of the town, but also because it is usually not the chief industry, is seasonal in character, and often imports much of its labor from larger cities, so that the community pays little attention to it. On the other hand, in an extremely small community the cannery may "make" the town. One plant employing 500 workers for a large part of the year made a fairly large community with its imported labor in a town with a normal population of about 300.

The majority of the canneries visited in the bureau survey relied on local labor. Several provided transportation to and from the cannery for workers in near-by towns. One cannery, needing extra help in the bean season, hired an Italian agent to recruit and bring a truck load of Italians to the cannery for night work. Judging from the children found at work, local workers were of varied nationalities, including many of Italian origin.

Migratory family labor was imported and housed in labor camps by 12 of the 56 canneries operating at the time of the visits, and two of these and one other establishment imported single men. Large numbers of migratory workers were brought in by two canneries employing

[15] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 11, sec. 295.
[16] N. Y., Industrial Code, Rules 149, 150, p. 47.

from 500 to 700 persons, one in a town of considerable size, the other in a very small community. Three other canners who raised their own vegetables for canning used local labor in the canneries, but imported migratory family labor for bean picking and other agricultural work.

Migratory family labor was usually recruited in Buffalo, a convenient center for canneries in the western or west central part of the State. Besides workers from Buffalo two canneries obtained others from Niagara Falls and one of them from a town in Pennsylvania more than a hundred miles away. Most of the migratory family groups were Italian and were recruited by a "padrone" or "overseer," as the Italian agent was called, though one cannery recruited Polish labor from Buffalo. Migrants were usually transported to the canneries at company cost, except in the case of a few canneries near Buffalo, but less often had their transportation home paid by the company.

Nearly half the workers in the canneries visited in September, 1925, were women and girls, but in the canneries visited in July, 1926, female workers constituted less than one-third of the workers. In July they were engaged chiefly on peas, in which a smaller proportion of the workers are women, whereas in September they were working chiefly on tomatoes, beans, beets, corn, on all of which except corn, the majority of the workers are women.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

Fourteen years is the legal minimum age for employment in New York State in canneries, as in other factories. Not only canneries but also canning sheds and other places used for or in connection with canning are covered by the law (see p. 154).[17] The hour standards for the employment of children between 14 and 16 years of age are high; employment is prohibited for more than 8 hours a day, or more than 6 days or 44 hours a week and between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m.[18] The work of minors between 16 and 18 years of age is limited, with certain exceptions, to 8 hours a day and 6 days and 54 hours a week,[19] and the employment of girls under 21 years of age is forbidden between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. and of boys under 18 years between midnight and 6 a. m. Hours of work for boys between 16 and 18 years of age, however, with the exception of the night-work prohibition just noted, are not regulated in canneries between June 15 and October 15.[20]

A general employment certificate was required of every employed child between 14 and 16 years of age in any factory in the State.[21] The requirements for such a certificate are comparatively high. A child of 14 years must have completed elementary school and one

[17] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 626; Labor Law, art. 1, sec. 2, art. 4, sec. 130.

[18] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 5, sec. 170. The 44-hour week became effective Oct. 1, 1925. This study was made in September, 1925, when a maximum 48-hour week was permitted, and in July, 1926; thus both standards apply.

[19] A law passed in 1927 (ch. 453, effective Jan. 1, 1928) fixed a maximum 8-hour day and 48-hour week for women and for girls 16 and over, allowing exemptions and permitting overtime under certain conditions.

[20] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 5, secs. 171, 172.

[21] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 626; Labor Law, art. 4, sec. 131. Since September, 1925, employment certificates have been required of all children 16 years of age but under 17 in cities with a population of 5,000 or more, and amendments passed in 1928 (chs. 646, 725) made the requirement of an employment certificate for children of 16 state-wide in application. A child of 16 years to obtain a certificate is required to fulfill the same requirements as a child between 14 and 16 except that no educational qualifications are necessary.

of 15 must have completed the sixth grade, and a child of either age must pass a physical examination showing that he is of normal development and in sound health. The child must also have a written promise of employment signed by his prospective employer and must obtain a new certificate or a reissue of the former one for each new job.[22] In addition the State law prohibits employment in certain dangerous occupations.[23]

Employers of minors under 18 years of age are subject to payment of double compensation if the minor is injured while working in violation of any provision of the labor law, and minors over 16 may obtain a certificate of age upon presentation of satisfactory evidence of age to an officer who issues employment certificates to children between 14 and 16.[24] This certificate is conclusive evidence of a child's age for an employer and protects him under the workmen's compensation law.

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

AGE AND SEX OF CHILDREN

A smaller proportion of the cannery workers in New York were under 16 than in any other State in which the Children's Bureau made a survey of canneries. In 26 of the 45 canneries seen in September, 1925, 109 children under 16 were found at work, only 2 per cent of the total number of workers in these plants, and in 8 of the 11 visited in July, 1926, 12 children under 16 were found, or 1 per cent of the working force. (Tables 47 and 48.) Canneries in which no minors under 16 were at work were somewhat smaller than the ones employing children, though a number of them reported between 100 and 250 workers.

Possibly more children would have been found in the canneries if they had been visited at the height of the bean-canning season, although the installation of modern machinery in bean canneries no doubt has eliminated a great deal of the hand snipping formerly done by children in New York canneries. A few canneries visited in New York as in other States, however, reported that bean snipping was done by hand either in the cannery itself or at home, and that children were employed in the work. One cannery, which had beans snipped by hand in the cannery, also employed the women and children who picked beans on the farm operated by the cannery to snip beans in the farm sheds when there was no field work to be done. Moreover, a number of the plants employing no minors at the time of the Children's Bureau survey hired children at other seasons. Some of those visited in September said that children hired during the summer had returned to school. One plant sometimes employed school children under 16 on Saturdays in the fall to sort apples for cider and vinegar. Other canners (including 2 in whose establishments children were working) stated that they never employed children under 16, the reasons most generally given being that they needed workers who could work longer hours or that employing children of certificate age involved too much trouble and risk. Some who hired children said they preferred adults when they could get them, because of

[22] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, secs. 630, 631.
[23] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 4, sec. 146.
[24] N. Y., Workmen's Compensation Law, sec. 14-a, as added by Acts of 1923, ch. 572.

hour restrictions and the double liability in case of accident (see p. 161).

Relatively more children worked in canneries packing tomatoes and tomato products, beets, string beans, and cherries (the proportion in such canneries was more than 2 per cent) than in canneries packing peas or corn, where the proportion of the total workers who were under 16 was less than 1 per cent. (Table 48.) Formerly many children were employed in corn canneries to husk corn by hand, this being one of the principal occupations in which children were found employed during the surveys made in New York State in 1908 and 1913.[25] Since that time, however, corn-husking machines have come into general use, thus eliminating hand husking except in some poorly equipped canneries.

In all but one of the counties in which canneries were visited children were found working, but the employment of children was more common in some counties than in others. (Table 47.) Almost half were found at work in Chautauqua County, the canneries of which employed less than one-fifth of the total number of workers in the canneries visited. This was due in large part to one large establishment, in which children under 16 constituted 8 per cent of the working force as compared with between 1 and 2 per cent in all the canneries visited.

The employed children included 80 girls, 66 per cent of the children at work, a considerably larger proportion than that which female workers bore to the total working force (40 per cent). Girls were in the majority in canneries putting up all kinds of fruit and vegetables except peas, in the canning of which no girls under 16 were found employed.

Of the 121 children in the canneries visited, 28, in six canneries, were migrants who had come out for the season, all except 6 of them from Buffalo.

VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF THE STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

In the canneries included in the survey in 1925, 13 children (12 per cent of the total number) were 13 years of age, that is, under legal age for employment, and in those visited in 1926, one child was 12. These children were employed in four canneries in three counties, but Chautauqua County canneries employed 11 of them. Nine of the fourteen under age children were found in one large cannery. Six were migrants living in labor camps. None of them had employment certificates and most of them when interviewed by bureau agents gave their ages as 16 or 17.

KINDS OF WORK

The majority of the girls working in the canneries prepared fruits and vegetables for the canning processes. Of the 80, 18 peeled or cored tomatoes, beets, pears, or peaches, 1 of these, a girl of 14, operating a tomato-coring machine; 9 sorted string beans at a moving belt after they had been put through snipping machines; 1 sorted lima beans; 2 snipped beans by hand in a cannery having no snipping machinery; two 15-year-old girls operated corn-husking machines and

[25] See Report on the Work of Women and Children in Canneries, Annual Report of the Bureau of Factory Inspection for the year ended Sept. 30, 1908, New York State Department of Labor, pp. 336–493; and Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 762–802.

1 a corn-cutting machine; and 2 girls sorted cherries. The remainder did a variety of other work—10 filled or packed cans with tomatoes, pears, or beets, 17 were can girls, and all but 1 of the others were stationed at moving belts at various kinds of general work, such as capping, washing, or labeling catchup bottles, and salting cans.

Twenty-seven of the forty-one boys included in the study did general work, but unlike boys in canneries of other States only five were can boys. A few of the 27 took cans from closing machines, while other workers piled them into crates. Others trucked crates, made boxes, piled boxes, and did other kinds of miscellaneous work, some of which was heavy. Among the remaining 14 boys were several who carried filled boxes of tomatoes, beans, or peas. Four boys, one of whom was 14 years of age, operated husking or cutting machines in corn canneries, and two 15-year-old boys fed vining machines in pea canneries. None husked corn by hand.

The work of the 10 girls and 4 boys under 14 was similar to that of the older children. The girls, all of whom were 13 years of age, prepared or packed fruit or vegetables or handled empty cans. One 13-year-old boy piled boxes, another took off cans from the closing machine, another did odd jobs, and a 12-year-old boy in a pea cannery picked out thistles from pea vines.

The operation of corn-cutting and corn-husking machines and tomato-coring machines, in which work eight children were engaged, is hazardous unless the knives on the machines are properly guarded. The knives of the tomato-coring machine and of one of the corn-husking machines being operated by children at the time of the visits were not guarded; the other corn-cutting machines were apparently guarded as far as was practical. In 1925 the employment of children on these machines was not specifically prohibited by the New York child labor law,[26] but in 1928 the industrial board adopted rules for safeguarding dangerous machinery on which children are employed which would have affected their employment.[27] Minor cuts but no serious accidents were reported by the 14-year-old girl who was found operating a tomato corer.

HOURS OF WORK

Daily hours.

Children worked as long hours as adults in many of the canneries. The regular running time of most of the establishments visited both in 1925 and 1926 was 10 hours during the day, from 7 to 12 and 1 to 6, and 2 or 3 hours in the evening, from 7 p. m. to 9 or 10 p. m. or later. Several operated until midnight and two worked all night at the height of the season. The two operating all night had two shifts, the others but one. Time records or parents' statements showed that in only 2 of the 26 visited in 1925 which employed children were the hours of all the children within the 8-hour limit set by the child labor law and that in only 4 others did the children stop work at 5 p. m., in accordance with the law. In 16 of the 21 operating at night children as well as adults were employed after 7 p. m. Although the canneries included in the survey in 1926 operated as long hours as those visited the previous year, children were employed more than 8 hours in only 2 of the 8, and after 7 p. m. in only 1.

---

[26] N. Y., Labor Law, art. 4, sec. 146.
[27] N. Y., Industrial Code, Rule 921.

Satisfactory time records, giving the hours of beginning and ending work each day and the time off for lunch, were kept in 26 of the 34 canneries employing children, and time records of some kind (as, for example, records giving only the total hours worked per day or records for time workers but not for piece workers) were kept in all. Three with satisfactory time records and one other were unwilling to have the bureau use their records. Information concerning the daily hours of the children at work for whom satisfactory time records were not available was obtained wherever possible from parents or adult witnesses of their work, though in a few cases the child's statement was accepted.

TABLE 49.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in New York canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of children	Children under 16 years employed			
	Total	15 years	14 years	Under 14 years
Total	121	74	33	14
1925: Total	109	68	28	13
Total reported	108	68	28	12
8 hours and under	8	6	2	
Over 8 hours	100	62	26	12
10 hours and over	81	51	23	7
12 hours and over	30	20	10	
14 hours and over	14	8	6	
16 hours and over	2	1	1	
Irregular	1			1
Boys	31	18	10	3
8 hours and under	4	3	1	
Over 8 hours	27	15	9	3
10 hours and over	24	14	7	3
12 hours and over	11	7	4	
14 hours and over	5	2	3	
16 hours and over	1		1	
Girls	78	50	18	10
Total reported	77	50	18	9
8 hours and under	4	3	1	
Over 8 hours	73	47	17	9
10 hours and over	57	37	16	4
12 hours and over	19	13	6	
14 hours and over	9	6	3	
16 hours and over	1	1		
Irregular	1			1
1926: Total	12	6	5	1
8 hours and under	8	2	5	1
Over 8 hours	4	4		
10 hours and over	2	2		
12 hours and over	1	1		
Boys	10	5	4	1
8 hours and under	7	2	4	1
Over 8 hours	3	3		
10 hours and over	2	2		
12 hours and over	1	1		
Girls	2	1	1	
8 hours and under	1		1	
Over 8 hours	1	1		

One hundred (92 per cent) of the 109 children employed in 1925 and 4 of the 12 employed in 1926 (84 per cent in all) had worked more than 8 hours a day, thereby violating the New York State child labor law; 81 (75 per cent) of those employed in 1925 and 2 of the children in 1926 had worked 10 or more hours a day. All except 1 of the 13 children under 14 had been employed more than 8 hours and 7 of them 10 hours or longer. Fourteen children, 5 boys and 9 girls, had worked 14 hours or more, including a boy of 14 who had worked 16¼ hours carrying wire cages of blanched beans and a girl of 15 who had worked 18½ hours one day taking bottles of catchup from a runway and putting them in boxes. Girls and boys worked equally long hours. (Table 49.) Children had longer daily hours in canneries packing corn, tomatoes, beans, and fruits, the principal crops being canned at the time of the 1925 visits, than in canneries packing peas and cherries, the principal crops in 1926, if the small number of children found employed in pea canneries can be trusted as an index. (Table 50.) The type of work appeared to affect hours but little. Several children operating corn-cutting or tomato-coring machines, work that is particularly taxing, worked 12 hours or longer a day.

The employment of so large a proportion of the working children for a longer day than was permitted by law may be attributed at least in part to the fact that so few had obtained employment certificates (see p. 168) and so presumably were not subject to the hour regulation, though actually they were below the age for exemption from this provision of the law.

TABLE 50.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work of children under 16 years of age employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in New York canneries*

Product	Children under 16 years employed								
		Daily hours of work							
	Total	Total reported	8 hours and under	Over 8 hours	10 hours and over	12 hours and over	14 hours and over	16 hours and over	Irregular hours
Total	121	120	16	104	83	31	14	2	1
1925: Total	109	108	8	100	81	30	14	2	1
Tomatoes and tomato products	17	17	4	13	11	1			
Corn	8	8	1	7	6	5	3		
Green and wax beans	3	3		3	3	1			
Peaches	2	2		2					
Pears	5	5		5	3				
Other	7	7	2	5	3				
More than one product	67	66	1	65	55	23	11	2	1
Tomatoes and corn	12	12		12	11	9	5	1	
Tomatoes and green and wax beans	3	2		2	1	1			1
Others	52	52	1	51	43	13	6	1	
1926: Total	12	12	8	4	2	1			
Peas	7	7	4	3	2	1			
Cherries	2	2	1	1					
More than one product	3	3	3						

Weekly hours.

Time records of weekly hours for children who had worked at least five full days a week were obtainable for only 27 children in the canneries visited in 1925 and 2 in the canneries visited in 1926. These

children were employed in 16 canneries. All of them were between 14 and 16 years of age. All but 2 of the 29 had worked more than 48 hours a week, thus violating the provision of the New York child labor law that limited the hours of work of children under 16 to 48 a week in 1925 and to 44 a week in 1926. Eight had worked seven days a week also, thus violating the law prohibiting more than six days' work a week for minors under 16. Some of those employed in 1925 worked excessively long hours; 17 had worked 60 hours or more, and 9 (8 of whom were girls), 70 or more. Six girls, employed in two canneries, worked at least 80 hours one week. The time records of one of these girls showed 63¼, 61½, 78½, and 81¾ hours, respectively, for four successive weeks; that of another 76, 79, 68¼, and 82 hours. Both these girls removed catchup bottles from a runway and put them into boxes. A can girl and a corn cutting machine operator had been employed 13 or 14 hours a day on week days and 7½ hours on Sunday, a total of 90½ hours for the week.

Night work.

The requirements of the New York child labor law prohibiting employment of children under 16 after 5 p. m. and before 8 a. m. were not observed in most plants seen in 1925. When the plants worked regular hours—from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m.—and did not operate at night (that is, after 7 p. m.) the children usually worked the same hours as the adults. One hundred (92 per cent) of the 109 children found at work in the canneries visited in 1925 and 7 of the 12 found in those visited in 1926 were working during hours forbidden by the State law. (Table 51.) Three of these children began work as early as 5.30 in the morning. All but one of the children under 14 found in canneries in 1925 worked after 5 p. m. and before 8 a. m., in violation of the hour provision in the State child labor law.

TABLE 51.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m. in New York canneries*

Age	Children under 16 years employed			Age	Children under 16 years employed		
	Total	Employed between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m.	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Total	Employed between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m.	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.
1925: Total	109	100	43	1926: Total	12	7	2
13 years	13	12	1	12 years	1	1	-------
14 years	28	26	10	14 years	5	2	-------
15 years	68	62	32	15 years	6	4	-------
Boys	31	27	18	Boys	10	6	2
13 years	3	3	1	12 years	1	1	-------
14 years	10	9	4	14 years	4	2	-------
15 years	18	15	13	15 years	5	3	2
Girls	78	73	25	Girls	2	1	-------
13 years	10	9	-------	14 years	1	-------	-------
14 years	18	17	6	15 years	1	1	-------
15 years	50	47	19				

The children who worked after 7 p. m. included 18 boys and 25 girls in 16 canneries visited in 1925 and 2 boys in a cannery visited in 1926. Except for one 13-year-old child these workers were 14 or 15 years of age. The majority had worked between 2 and 4 hours in

the evening, from 7 p. m. to 9, 10, or 10.30 p. m.; 5 boys and 3 girls had worked until 11 p. m. or later. Two boys, each 15 years of age, had worked on the regular night shift. One, who washed pears, had worked for two weeks from 7 p. m. to 12 p. m. and from 12.30 to 5.30 a. m. The other had worked from 6.30 p. m. to 5.30 a. m. on four nights and until 11.45 p. m. and 1 a. m. on two other nights of the same week with no time out for lunch, as required by the State labor law for all workers. He operated a corn-husking machine, which was not guarded, an occupation requiring constant attention.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Peas and cherries are packed when the schools are closed for the summer vacation, but work on corn, tomatoes, pears, peaches, and other fall fruits interferes with school attendance.

Almost all the canneries visited in 1925 were inspected on or after September 8, the date on which most of the schools in the cannery districts opened. All but 1 of the 13 children under 14 years of age found employed in that year, and also 4 of the 10 fourteen-year-old children who had not reached the eighth grade, were working after the schools had opened in the districts in which the canneries were situated. According to the State law, these children should have been in school.[28] Most of the 15-year-old children had completed the sixth grade and so could legally have been out of school and employed provided they had employment certificates.

The migratory families that work in canneries often do not return to their city homes until after the beginning of school, so that not only the children old enough to work but their younger brothers and sisters also are out of school at least part of September. In Buffalo and Niagara Falls in 1925 the schools opened on September 8, while corn and tomato canning, in which most of the children work, occupied the whole of the month. The principal of one of the Buffalo schools in a district from which children migrate for cannery and agricultural work estimated that from 20 to 40 per cent of the children in that school missed some part of the school year because of the canning and fruit-picking industries. It was said that some of the families go back to the city before the canning season is over in order that the children may attend school. Children of school age, however, were found living in most of the cannery labor camps visited after the opening of school. These children as a rule were not given the opportunity to attend local schools, although New York was the only State among those included in the Children's Bureau survey in which any migrants were found enrolled in school in districts where their families were at work in the canneries. The children in two cannery camps attended local public or parochial schools. (See end of footnote 48, p. 177.)

Although the children of 14 and 15 working in New York canneries had progressed more rapidly in school than white children working in Delaware and Maryland canneries, they compared unfavorably in this respect with children in Indiana, Michigan, or Wisconsin. Among the 111 children for whom information concerning school grade was obtained, 60 had completed or at least attended the eighth grade, including 18 who had entered high school. Five of the 29 children 14 years of age had not reached the seventh grade and 30 of the 69 children 15 years of age the eighth grade, as they normally

[28] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 621; sec. 631 (sec. 632, as article was rewritten by Acts of 1928, ch. 646).

might be expected to have done. (See footnote 18a, p. 47.) Too few migratory children in New York State were found working in canneries to conclude that migratory children in New York canneries are more backward in school than resident children, as was true of the migratory children in Delaware and Maryland. Six of the 11 migratory children of 15 years as compared with 23 of the 53 resident children of that age had failed to reach the eighth grade. Many of the resident children as well as the migrants were of Italian and other non-English-speaking parentage, and children from such families are more likely to be retarded in school than those from homes in which English is spoken.

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

Although the New York child labor law now requires employment certificates for minors between 14 and 17 years of age (see p. 160), at the time of the Children's Bureau investigation in 1925 the law including children of 16 had only just gone into effect. Because of this and because at that time it applied only in cities with a population of 5,000 or more, and only 10 of the 34 canneries visited employing minors were in such places, the Children's Bureau did not include 16-year-old cannery workers in the survey in New York as in other States where the certificate law covered minors of 16 or over.

The proportion of children under 16 years of age for whom certificates were found was considerably smaller than in any of the other States in the Children's Bureau survey. Ninety (83 per cent) of the 109 children found employed in 1925, and 7 of the 12 in 1926, had no certificates on file. In 21 of the 26 child-employing canneries visited in 1925, and in 4 of the 8 in 1926, some or all of the child workers were without certificates. Only 9 of the 34 had certificates on file for all the children employed, that is, 13 children. Sixteen had no employment certificates for their young workers under 16. Several children with certificates had worked before they had obtained them. In a few plants documents other than employment certificates, such as a birth or baptismal record or a physician's certificate of physical fitness, were found on file in lieu of the certificates. One 14-year-old worker had filed a physician's certificate and a letter signed by the president of the local board of education to the effect that it could be used in place of an employment certificate. The child and her mother were both aware this was not a certificate but did not know to whom to apply, and as the president of the board of education had assured them his letter was sufficient they hoped no trouble would arise.

Only 23 of the 92 local children, and only 1 of the 28 migratory children, had certificates. The common practice seems to have been to require children to get their employment certificates in the towns in which they lived and went to school, and not to issue them to children in the districts to which they came for employment. The one migratory child worker in the New York canneries with a certificate on file had obtained it in Buffalo, where he lived. The failure of local children to get certificates is less easy to explain. A contributing factor at least seems to be that vacation certificates are not issued in New York State for factory employment, including cannery work, and in order to obtain the regular employment certificate a school record must be presented. Children who can not meet the educational

requirements are not likely to apply for certificates at all if they find they can get work without them. Even in the case of children who qualified, the requirement might cause delay (see p. 172), and the inconvenience no doubt prevented some children from applying for certificates. Another contributing cause of the failure to have certificates seemed to be the practice of enrolling noncertificated working children in continuation school as a substitute for requiring them to get certificates in cases where difficulty was experienced in getting all the necessary documents for certification.

Primarily the presence in the New York canneries of children without certificates was due to the willingness of the employers to put them to work without verifying their ages. For the most part they appeared to accept without investigation the child's word that he was past certificate age. Most of the children under 16 who did not have certificates when interviewed by the agents of the bureau said that they were 16 or 17, and doubtless many of these had given the same ages when applying for employment. Although some canners, while failing to verify the children's statements in regard to their ages, seemed to be anxious to comply with the law, a number appeared to know little or nothing about it or to be only vaguely familiar with its terms. Others seemed to be indifferent to their responsibility for compliance with the employment-certificate provisions.

One of the results of the employment of children without certificates, as has been noted, was the widespread violation of the law in regard to hours of work. (See p. 165.) Without certificates there was nothing to indicate to employer or inspector whether or not the children were within the ages to which the law applied.

ISSUING OFFICERS

Employment certificates were issued by local superintendents of schools in cities and in school districts having a population of 4,500 or more and employing a superintendent of schools, and elsewhere by the district superintendents of schools. These superintendents were authorized to deputize in writing any other school official or employee except an attendance officer, to act as issuing officer.[29]

Issuing officers for 36 localities—16 cities or school districts of 4,500 population or more and 20 so-called supervisory districts—were interviewed. In the supervisory districts the district superintendents in most cases themselves did the actual work of issuance. In a few places the superintendent's wife or some other relative assisted or issued during his absence, and in one district a school principal had issued vacation certificates (not valid for work in canneries) which were found on file in one cannery, though he had not been deputized to do so. Three school principals had been officially deputized as additional issuing officers in a district near Buffalo from which many children went to work in the city. In one county, also, four district superintendents with an office in the county building had a secretary in common, who issued certificates for them. In most of the larger districts, where the superintendent might live from 15 to 30 miles away from some of the schools in the district, he carried all the material required for issuing employment certificates with him when traveling

[29] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 631 (6). An amendment to this law passed in 1928 (ch. 646) removed the restriction as to appointment of attendance officers as issuing officers.

from school to school so that children would not have to make the trip to him, or the school principal mailed the required papers to him and he mailed the certificate back to the principal, or he made a special trip to the school when notified by the principal.

In only 3 of the 16 cities or school districts in which local superintendents of schools were the issuing officers, however, was the issuing done by these officials themselves, and in these 3 places few certificates were issued. In 4 cities or school districts, although the local superintendent was nominally the issuing officer, the work was done by some other person—in one case by his clerk, in two by the secretary to the attendance officer, and in one by a clerk in the office of the continuation school. In 3 cities the secretary to the superintendent or a clerk in his office had been formally deputized, but one of these had handed over the work to a clerk in the attendance office. In 2 places the directors of continuation schools and in 3 the directors of attendance had been deputized to issue certificates, and in 1 (Buffalo) a special employment certificate issuing officer and several assistants were employed.

In some of the small towns children were often unable to obtain certificates during the summer vacation. In several, however, the local superintendent allowed a clerk to issue in his absence, and in one town of 6,000 population the attendance officer, who was also a school janitor, had issued certificates during one summer vacation when the issuing officer was ill. Among the supervisory district superintendents (where any special provision was made for issuance when they were away) a fairly common practice was to allow their wives to issue certificates in their absence.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ISSUANCE

Evidence of age.

Under the New York law the following proof of the child's age must be presented,[30] to be required in order indicated: (1) Birth certificate, baptismal certificate, or passport, all of equal value under the law; (2) other documentary evidence satisfactory to the issuing officer; and (3) physician's certificate of age.[31]

Although the law gives to the issuing officer the duty of examining and approving the evidence of age, in some places visited the health officers (who had formerly issued certificates under the New York child labor law) approved the evidence, and although the issuing officer often saw it he never questioned the finding of the health officer.

Practically all the officials interviewed who passed on evidence of age, whether issuing officers or health officers, stated that they demanded first a birth or baptismal certificate and usually, if neither was available for the foreign-born child, a passport. However, the school census was the preferred evidence for public-school children in one district and in one city. As the preferred evidence under the law—birth or baptismal certificate or passport—is usually available, many issuing officers, especially in the country districts, said that they had seldom been confronted with the necessity of obtaining other proof. Only about half had at some time accepted any other document, and of these the majority had accepted a school record or the school census, though a few had accepted Bible records or other kinds of documen-

[30] Amendments to the New York law passed in 1928 (ch. 646) changed this requirement to some extent. (See footnote 31a, p. 171.)

[31] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 631 (LL).

tary evidence. The physician's certificate of age had been used in only four places.

Instead of attempting to obtain secondary documentary evidence or requiring a physician's certificate of age, the usual practice in many places, when a birth or baptismal certificate or a passport was not produced, was to accept as final proof the parent's unsupported affidavit of the child's age. This practice [31a] was found to be followed by 23 officials, including 6 health officers, though some of them had accepted this evidence only occasionally over a period of several years. One health officer said that when he knew the parent he did not even obtain an affidavit but accepted his statement. A district superintendent who had once looked up the birth records of some children for whom he had accepted the parent's unsupported affidavits and found that the parents had told the truth felt confident of his ability to gauge the parent's honesty in making these statements. A health officer who passed on evidence of age said that some Polish children claiming to be 16 years of age had applied who had neither birth records nor school records. He and his wife, who was also a doctor, "looked them over" and if they appeared to be 16, he made a statement to that effect on his office stationery.

The practice of taking parents' unsupported affidavits appeared to be as common in communities of more than 4,500 population (except in the cities of Buffalo and Rochester) as in the country districts.

Proof of physical fitness.

Each of the issuing officers visited required all children between 14 and 16 to obtain a certificate of physical fitness from a medical officer designated by the board of health, as is required by law. The fact that in all but the largest cities the physician is entitled to a fee not exceeding 50 cents for each examination, to be paid by the city or town, tends to assure the child an examination which otherwise might be omitted. A few of the local health officers felt that the physical fitness of an applicant for an employment certificate was important enough to warrant a thorough examination, and they had refused certificates to a few children because of physical disabilities. In the cities of Buffalo and Rochester particularly, children were frequently refused employment certificates, at least temporarily, until certain defects were corrected. But in some places the examination was regarded merely as an annoying matter of routine. In a city with a population of more than 100,000 the register of vital statistics merely filled in the form provided for recording the physical examination from replies to questions put to the applicant, and signed the health officer's name.

Proof of educational requirements.

In New York, alone among the States included in the Children's Bureau study, children under 16 years of age obtaining certificates for work in the summer must have the same educational qualifications [32] (see p. 21) as those going to work in the school year. The

[31a] The parent's affidavit was not included as one of the types of evidence of age acceptable under the law in force at the time of the Children's Bureau study unless it is permissible to classify such an affidavit as "other documentary evidence of age," when the evidence previously mentioned is "birth certificate, baptismal certificate, or passport." Before 1916, affidavits were specifically mentioned in the section of the law referring to papers which might be presented as documentary evidence. In 1916 when the law was amended the term "affidavits" was omitted, and this was the situation at the time of the Children's Bureau study. In 1928 when the law was again amended (ch. 646) the acceptance of the parent's affidavit as evidence was specifically prohibited.

[32] A child was required also to have attended school not less than 130 days in the 12 months: (1) Between his thirteenth and fourteenth birthdays; (2) next preceding his graduation; or (3) next preceding his application for the employment certificate.

school-record certificate must be issued by the principal of a school in first-class cities; by the superintendent of schools, if there is one, in other cities and school districts with a population of 4,500 or more; and in other school districts by the principal teacher of a school. In addition, children under 16 not eighth-grade graduates must pass a test in reading and writing simple sentences in English.[33]

In the three largest cities visited and in all the 20 supervisory districts school principals issued the school-record certificate, and the issuing officer accepted their statements without question. In the smaller cities where the local superintendent was authorized to issue the record, about half the issuing officers allowed the principal to fill in the form and exercised no check over the authenticity of the record, but the others looked up the child's record in the school register filed in the superintendent's office and themselves made out the school-record certificates. In the supervisory districts it was always necessary for an applicant to wait several days for his school record even if he had fulfilled the grade and attendance requirements, as the principal was required to write to the State office at Albany requesting a school record certificate form for the specific child applying. Although this practice was believed by the State department of education to be a check on indiscriminate issuance of school-record certificates to unqualified children, it was said at the Albany office of the department that the form was always sent as requested.[33a]

In many places little or no attention was paid to the requirement of a literacy test.

Other.

The requirement of a promise of employment, specified in the certificate law, was uniformly complied with in the cities and towns where local superintendents or their deputies issued certificates; but in the supervisory districts, where children sometimes had to go long distances to get certificates, the promise was not always demanded.

In only 8 of the 36 localities where issuing officers were interviewed was the parent required to apply in person, as the law demands, either at the issuing office or before the school principal for the school-record certificate.

A special vacation certificate for which provision is made in the New York law but which is not valid for work in a cannery had been issued for cannery employment by issuing officers in a number of the supervisory districts and in about a third of the cities, and vacation certificates were found on file in a few canneries. Some of these officers stated that the work for which they issued such a certificate was work in the cannery sheds, and one said that this was "really out-door work" and told the children that they must not work in the cannery building "proper" or around machinery. These sheds, however, are by definition in the law part of the factory and in many canneries house power-driven machinery.

Although the law requires that the promise of employment indicate the kind of work the child is to do and that the certificate shall contain a description of his work, in nearly half the certificates

[33] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 631.

[33a] Since September, 1927, this delay is no longer necessary, as issuing officers have been empowered to accept school-record certificates furnished by the school principal.

on file the job was designated in the blank space provided in the certificate as "canning," although most of the children had been hired for the definite occupation at which they were found, such as feeding viners, operating corn cutters, sorting fruit and vegetables, and attending labeling machines. It did not appear that any of these children were employed at a prohibited occupation, but the use of such indefinite descriptions on the certificate removed the safeguard intended by the law.

Other defects of issuing were noted, not, however, of great importance, such as the omission of the number of the certificate, or the details of the physical description of the child.

STATE SUPERVISION

The State commissioner of education is given by law the general duty to "supervise the enforcement" of the compulsory school attendance and employment-certificate provisions of the law, but there is no requirement that duplicates of certificates issued be sent to him or to the State department of labor, nor is the State department of labor given such supervisory powers over the issuance of certificates as is the case under the laws of many States. However, the industrial commissioner had power to require the employer of a child "apparently under 16" years of age without a certificate either to cease employing him or to furnish proof that he was over 16. An opportunity to have such proof on file was given to the employer by the law providing for the issuance of certificates of age to minors over 16, such a certificate to be conclusive evidence to the employer of the minor's age. (See p. 161.) The fact that so many children were found without certificates in a State where visits of factory inspectors were so frequent as appeared to be the case in New York would indicate that the inspectors did not often take advantage of this provision to challenge the employment of young workers.

The section of the law defining the powers and duties of the State commissioner of education states that he must prepare suitable "registers, blanks, forms, and regulations" for carrying out the education law, which includes the employment certificate law, and must transmit them to the officials intrusted with the execution of the various duties.[34] Under the article relating specifically to compulsory school attendance and employment certificates, however, the form for all "certificates" [35] required by the law is to be prescribed by the commissioner of education, the employment-certificate form to have also the approval of the industrial commissioner, and the physical-examination record the approval of the commissioner of health, but no provision is made for furnishing the forms to issuing officers.[36] Under a former law [37] cities of 50,000 population or over were required to furnish their own forms, which were subject, however, to approval by the commissioner of education. In the cities and districts visited in the Children's Bureau study this plan was still being followed, the commissioner furnishing forms to communities of less than 50,000 and to the rural

[34] N. Y., Education Law, art. 4, sec. 94 (9).
[35] Interpreted to include the subsidiary forms.
[36] N. Y., Education Law, art. 23, sec. 631 (10).
[37] N. Y., Labor Law, secs. 75 and 166, prior to amendments passed in 1921.

districts. The forms used in the cities of more than 50,000 were based on the State forms.

A pamphlet summarizing the compulsory education and employment certificate laws and containing instructions for the issuance of certificates and copies of the blanks formulated by the department was furnished by the State department of education to attendance officers, school superintendents, and certificate-issuing officers, and the issuing officers interviewed reported that the department notified them of any changes in the law. Although the department of education attendance inspectors visited the officers of school superintendents and other local school officials, practically all the issuing officers interviewed reported either that these inspectors paid no attention to the issuance of certificates or that they merely would answer questions if asked. There was no indication that any direct supervision of the methods of issuing certificates was attempted. Issuing officers were required to send to the State department of education quarterly and annual reports of employment certificates issued, but these reports did not contain the detailed information, as for instance, data on the evidence of age accepted, that would enable the department to check up on methods of issuance.[38] (See footnote 48, p. 177 for present provisions.)

LABOR CAMPS FOR CANNERY WORKERS

The housing and sanitation of New York labor camps is regulated in detail by the rules of the State labor department and the State board of health, and the camps are subject to inspection by officials of both departments. The rules of the industrial commission cover such matters as construction of buildings, roofs, floors and partitions, ventilation, privacy, furnishings, toilet and washing facilities, water supply, and removal of waste. The board of health rules include the location and drainage of the camp, water supply, toilet facilities, and removal of waste.[39] The standards maintained in the New York camps were on the whole much higher than in the camps for migratory family labor visited in the two other Eastern States, and a general improvement seems to have taken place since 1913 when the survey was made by the New York Factory Investigating Commission.[40]

The camps of 11 of the 12 canneries visited that imported migratory family labor were open at the time of the study, but fewer families were reported living in them than earlier in the season. The camp that was closed had been occupied during the bean season. Fewer than 40 persons were living in 5 of the camps; the others were larger, one housing more than 300. The total number of persons living in the 11 camps at the time of the study was not ascertained. Children under 16 were living in 9 of the 11.

Two types of housing were found. Seven of the camps housed at least some of the occupants in buildings known as barracks—long, 2-story structures consisting of a row of rooms on each side of a central hall, one window open to the outer air and a door into the hall from each room. In these camps a separate house was provided for cook-

[38] Since 1927 a more detailed report showing the evidence of age accepted has been required by the State department of education.

[39] N. Y., Industrial Code, Sanitation of Cannery Labor Camps, Rules 200–232 (pp. 188–191); N. Y., State Board of Health, Regulations for Labor Camps, ch. 5 of Sanitary Code, Regulations 1–22. For a summary of State laws and regulations relating to labor camps, see Appendix III, p. 223.

[40] Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 884–890.

ing. In the other camps the buildings were divided into separate apartments or tenements, each consisting of from two or three to six rooms, and having both bedrooms and a kitchen.

According to the rules of the State labor department every family composed of husband and wife and one or more children over 10 years of age must be assigned at least two rooms. In rooms used for sleeping purposes not less than 400 cubic feet of air space must be provided for each person, except that a minimum of 200 cubic feet is permitted for each child under 14.[41] The rules also require a window with an area of at least 4 square feet and, in rooms with only one window, a transom also communicating with the outer air.[42] It was the practice in the camps visited to assign at least two rooms to a family; in five camps each family had at least 3 rooms, including one camp which assigned to large families as many as 6. The sleeping rooms as a rule were small, those of several camps having a cubic air space of from 840 to 960 cubic feet, only slightly above the legal requirements for two adults. In Maryland (see pp. 126, 127) and in New York State in earlier days one room to a family in cannery camps was the general rule [43]; in Delaware at the time of the study about half the families had only one room.

The department of labor has ruled that beds, cots, or bunks must be provided in sufficient numbers in every room used as a sleeping room, and at the beginning of the season all beds, bunks, and bedding must be clean.[44] In all but one of the camps visited beds, usually iron, were provided by the canner, and in several mattresses also were furnished. But in one camp, the largest visited, the beds were only raised wooden platforms covered by a strawfilled tick, resembling the bed places seen in the labor camps of Delaware and Maryland. Although not required to do so by the rules of the commission, the canners provided stoves and fuel in addition to bedsteads, and some of them supplied tables and benches and screens for doors and windows.

One camp housing 200 persons at the height of the season maintained particularly high standards. The houses were substantial ones of concrete blocks. Each family had an apartment of two or three rooms, one or two bedrooms and a kitchen. Each room had a floor space of about 10½ by 16 feet and a large, well-screened window; the bedrooms were furnished with one large iron bedstead and springs, the kitchen with a good stove, and there were also serviceable tables and chairs. These furnishings, with the exception of some of the chairs and tables, were provided by the cannery.

The water supply of the camps visited appeared in most cases to be adequate. Seven of the 11 camps were piped for city water, and faucets supplying water for cooking, washing, and drinking were provided in places easily accessible to the occupants of the camp. One camp had city water piped to each apartment. Sinks were provided in some camps, though not in all, as required under the rules,[45] making it unnecessary to throw the waste water on the ground as is commonly done in the labor camps visited in the two other Eastern

[41] N. Y., Industrial Code, Sanitation of Cannery Labor Camps, Rules 205 and 223 (pp. 188, 190).
[42] Ibid., Rules 206, 207 (p. 188).
[43] Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, 1913, vol. 2, p. 885.
[44] N. Y., Industrial Code, Sanitation of Labor Camps, Rules 210, 211, 225 (pp. 189, 190).
[45] "Readily accessible slop sinks must be provided to carry off all liquid waste. The pouring of such waste upon the ground near the living quarters is prohibited." (N. Y., Industrial Code, Sanitation of Labor Camps, Rule 221, p. 190.)

States. Two of the camps in which city water was available had flush toilets, but only privies were provided in the others. With the exception of three camps in which they were maintained in excellent condition, little attention was paid to keeping privies clean and sanitary. One exceptionally well-kept camp was supplied with two enamel bath tubs, one for men and one for women, but no other camp made arrangements for bathing, although the department of labor has ruled that "when there is no stream or lake accessible for bathing and no baths are provided for the use of the camp, shacks or sheds * * * must be provided for bathing purposes."[46]

In only two camps, one of them the largest visited, were the grounds dirty or untidy. Covered garbage cans, as required by the regulations,[47] were provided in 6 of the 11 camps visited and were emptied periodically by the padrone or other employee in charge of the camp.

Young children were as a rule unsupervised while their mothers were at work in the cannery. Three camps, however, made some provision for their care. In one camp the woman hired by the company to clean the buildings looked after the children in addition to her other work; in another, mothers of nursing babies and of very young children were not employed in the cannery and cared for their own children, and the padrone's wife was paid to look after the children who were over 6 years of age. A third camp provided a makeshift nursery in which between 40 and 50 young children were cared for at the time of the visit by two elderly women. The room was only about 25 feet square and had very inadequate furnishings, consisting of an old stove used for warming milk, a broken and unused refrigerator, and six iron cribs. The nursery had no screens, and when it was visited by the bureau agent flies were swarming over the sleeping babies.

SUMMARY

New York canneries have a diversified product. The State ranks second in the canning of fruits, vegetables, pickles, jellies, preserves, and sauces. The principal canning crops are peas, beans, corn, and cherries. The Children's Bureau visited 56 fruit and vegetable canneries of the 158 in the State canning and preserving fruits, vegetables, pickles, jellies, and preserves. These were canning chiefly corn and tomatoes and tomato products, though other crops were being canned to some extent when the establishments were visited.

The majority of the canneries visited used local labor, but 12 imported migratory family labor, chiefly Italian.

In 35 canneries visited 121 children under 16 years of age (about 2 per cent of the total number of workers in the canneries) were found at work.

Girls constituted 66 per cent of the children at work.

Fourteen children (12 per cent of the children employed) were under 14 years of age, the legal minimum age for employment in canneries in New York State. The youngest worker was 12. Nine of the 14 were at work in one cannery.

Girls peeled or cored tomatoes, beets, pears, or peaches, sorted string beans, lima beans, and cherries, snipped beans, filled or packed

[46] N. Y., Industrial Code, Sanitation of Labor Camps, Rule 218 (p. 190).
[47] Ibid., Rule 226 (p. 190); N. Y., State Board of Health, Regulations for Labor Camps, ch. 5 of Sanitary Code, Regulation 14.

cans with the product, were can girls, or did general work at moving belts, such as capping, washing, or labeling bottles and salting cans. Several ran corn-husking, corn-cutting, or tomato-coring machines.

Boys trucked crates, made and piled boxes, piled cans, removed cans from closing machines, and carried boxes of vegetables. Relatively few, compared with other States, were can boys. A few ran corn-husking or corn-cutting machines or fed pea-vining machines.

Eighty-four per cent of the employed children had worked more than 8 hours a day, the maximum permitted under the State child labor law, and 68 per cent had worked more than 10 hours.

Time records for a week were available for only 29 children. All except 3 of these had worked longer than 48 hours, the legal maximum for children under 16.

Eighty-three per cent of the workers under 16 had been employed between 5 p. m. and 8 a. m., hours during which the employment of children under 16 is prohibited. The majority of these had worked between 7 and 11 p. m.

Peas and cherries are packed during summer vacation, but the canning of corn, tomatoes, peas, peaches, and other fall fruits interfered with school attendance. Almost all the canneries putting up these products in which children were found at work were visited after the opening of school.

Children in migratory families were usually out of school at least part of September. Although migrants as a rule did not attend school in the districts in which they worked, New York was the only State of those in the Children's Bureau surveys in which any migrants were enrolled in the local schools.

Employment certificates were found for only 24 of the 121 employed children under 16, as required by the child labor law, a smaller proportion than was found in any other State included in the bureau's survey. One of the results of the lack of employment certificates was the prevalence of illegal working hours.

Only 9 of the 34 canneries employing child workers had certificates for all children under 16 years of age; 16 had no certificates on file.[48]

---

[48] The following information has been received (December, 1929) from the New York State Industrial Commissioner regarding efforts made in 1929 to bring about better enforcement of the laws regarding the employment of children in canneries:

In 1929 the commissioner endeavored to obtain the cooperation of the canners through the Association of New York State Canners and the Associated Industries of New York State in the elimination of child labor and illegal hours of children. Not all the canners operating in New York State were members of these associations. In the main the cooperative arrangement seemed to improve conditions.

All canneries and vineries operating in the State were inspected during the season. A total of 511 inspections were made, 147 canneries and 48 vineries being found in operation. Children under 16 years of age totaled 227, or 1.8 per cent of the total number of employees found at work in the canneries, approximately the same proportion as was found in the New York canneries in the Children's Bureau survey. The following numbers of children employed in violation of the child labor law were found: Under legal age (14 years), 7, or 3.1 per cent of the total number under 16; employed without certificates, 152, or 69.1 per cent of the children between 14 and 16 years of age; employed on vacation permit (illegal in cannery), 20; working illegal hours, 82, or 36.1 per cent of the total number under 16.

In connection with the inspections of canneries made by the department, 444 orders regulating sanitation and seating were issued to 134 plants, and 621 orders relative to the guarding of machinery and apparatus were issued to 138 plants.

According to information received (March, 1930) from the director of the attendance division of the State department of education, there has recently been a noticeable advance in the responsibility taken by district superintendents in connection with the issuance of employment certificates. Efforts are being made to insure that issuing officers are available to issue certificates to children tgoing to work during vacation and to assist them in obtaining the necessary documents. A pamphlet published by the attendance division in 1929 outlines the procedure of issuing certificates and gives much more detailed instructions than the pamphlet previously distributed (see p. 174), and the inspectors of the attendance division are directed to discuss with the superintendents their duties as certificate issuing officers and give advice as to procedure where it is found to be needed. As regards the school attendance of migatory children, the attendance division is attempting to obtain the cooperation of canners who employ family labor in giving preference to those who will arrange to have their children remain at home or go home when school opens.

WASHINGTON

INTRODUCTION

At the request of a number of Washington State organizations interested in child welfare, an inquiry was made by the Children's Bureau during the summer of 1923 into the employment of children working on fruit farms and in canneries in Washington.[1] This inquiry was made two years before the series of Children's Bureau surveys of children working in canneries, reports of which are contained in this volume, and it was confined to an inspection of the canneries to find working children, an inquiry into the character of their work in canneries and their hours of work, and an inquiry into the extent and character of certification for employment. Although information was not obtained by the Children's Bureau as to working conditions, equipment, and sanitation in the canneries, this phase of the inquiry was covered by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in a study of the work of women in Washington canneries made simultaneously and in cooperation with the Children's Bureau study.[2]

Washington for many years has been an important fish-canning State, the packing of Columbia River salmon having been started shortly after the Civil War, but the importance of the State in fruit canning has been of rather recent development. In 1923, the year of the Children's Bureau inquiry, it ranked eighth among the States in fruit and vegetable canning according to the average number of wage earners employed,[3] but second in the canning of fruits alone, canning about one-tenth of the quantity put up in the United States.[4] The principal crops packed are berries and apples (in the canning of which Washington holds first place), pears and prunes (in which it holds second place), and cherries (in which it ranks fifth).[5] Together these packs constitute seven-tenths of the value of all fruits, vegetables, pickles, jellies, and preserves canned in the State. The average number of wage earners employed in the canning of fruits and vegetables in 1923 was 2,235; the number employed during the peak month—September—was 4,109.[6]

THE CANNERIES

In 1923 Washington had 43 canneries packing fruits and vegetables, pickles, kraut, preserves, and jellies.[7] These were located in 16 of

[1] An analysis of the findings of the study of the work of children on Washington fruit farms is contained in Child Labor in Fruit and Hop Growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 151, Washington, 1926).

[2] The findings of the Women's Bureau study have been published in Women in the Fruit-Growing and Canning Industries in the State of Washington; a study of hours, wages, and conditions (U. S. Women's Bureau Publication No. 47, Washington, 1926).

[3] Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1923, p. 76. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1926.

[4] Ibid., p. 74.

[5] Ibid., p. 72.

[6] Ibid., p. 76.

[7] Canners' Directory, 1923, pp. 154–159. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C. The United States Census of Manufactures for 1923 lists 36 establishments canning these products, but census statistics were collected only from establishments reporting products of $5,000 or more. (Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1923, p. 76.)

the 39 counties of the State, chiefly in those east of Puget Sound, the most important fruit-raising section of the State, and in the counties bordering the Pacific coast, though a few, including 2 of the largest, were inland in Yakima and Clarke Counties, both important centers for orchard fruits.

The Children's Bureau survey was made chiefly during the latter half of August and the first week of September. It covered 16 establishments canning fruits and vegetables [8] in 14 towns or cities in 8 counties, or practically all the principal fruit-canning sections of the State. Most of the canneries were putting up fruit at the time of the visits, chiefly blackberries and pears, but several were canning beans. They packed a great variety of fruits and vegetables and were in operation several months during the summer and autumn, the number depending on the nature of the products. One, for instance, packing pears, tomatoes, and apples, operated from the middle of August to the first of January. Several operated from 6 to 8 months; one, for example, opened with the strawberry season in June and closed in December after the apple season was over, and two had an 8-month run, beginning the season with spinach and rhubarb and ending with apples. Some canneries packed only fruits, such as strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, plums, loganberries, cherries, pears, and apples. Others, in addition to fruits, packed vegetables such as spinach, beans, and tomatoes.

Some of the canneries were in cities and towns large enough to afford an adequate local labor supply—one was in Tacoma, the second largest city in the State, and others were in the large centers of population on or near Puget Sound and on the Columbia and Yakima Rivers. Several, in the heart of the fruit-raising districts, were in small rural communities.

The total number of employees in the 16 canneries visited was reported as 3,364, an average of 210 persons a cannery, a larger number than was reported for any of the States in which the Children's Bureau made surveys in 1925. Eleven were employing more than 100 persons, including 7 with more than 300, and 2 with more than 400 workers. One cannery, which was reported as employing 450 persons normally, had a working force of 600 during the peak months of 1923, but by October, when it was visited, many women had left to work in the fields or in the fruit-packing sheds and the children had returned to school. At another cannery visited in September, also after the opening of school, it was reported that twice as many persons, including many more children under 16 (among whom were 40 school girls who had left to return to school), had been employed on strawberries earlier in the season.

Girls and women constituted almost three-fourths of the total number of workers.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

In 1907 a law was passed in Washington [9] fixing a minimum age of 14 for work in factories, stores, and certain other occupations and exempting children of 12 or over on account of poverty provided they

[8] In addition inspections were made of 13 fish canneries. (Twelfth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, pp. 12–13.)

[9] Wash., Laws of 1907, ch. 128 (Pierce's Code 1921, sec. 3443).

worked in occupations not dangerous nor injurious to health or morals and obtained special permits from superior-court judges. In 1922 this law was held by an opinion of the assistant attorney general to be repealed by the penal code passed in 1909,[10] so that at the time of the study no State law was in effect fixing a minimum age for work in factories or canneries.[11]

A State law requires work permits issued by superior-court judges for boys under 14 years of age and girls under 16 employed in factories or any inside employment not connected with farmwork or housework, and the school attendance law requires school-exemption certificates issued by school superintendents for all children under 15 employed at any work during school hours.[12] Under the Administrative Code of Washington the industrial-welfare committee of the State department of labor and industry has general supervision over the conditions of labor of women and minors,[13] and has issued employment permits to minors above the ages covered by permits from judges; that is, to boys between 14 and 18 years of age and girls between 16 and 18.[14]

Washington has no statute specifically regulating hours of children working in canneries, but the industrial-welfare committee has issued orders prohibiting the employment of minors under 18 years (with exceptions not applying to work in canneries) in or in connection with factories, including canneries, for more than eight hours a day, or six days a week, or between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.[15]

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

AGE AND SEX OF CHILDREN

The height of the berry season, with the exception of blackberries, was over before the Children's Bureau made its survey in Washington. Otherwise it is believed that many more children would have been found at work. In the fruit canneries which earlier in the season had been canning raspberries, loganberries, and strawberries it was explained, in some plants by the manager or the foreman, in others by the timekeeper, that many more children, and more younger children, had been employed on those berries than on the packs on which the establishment was working when visited. Young children are able to cap, sort, and pack berries as satisfactorily as adult workers, and as the State law at the time of this study fixed no minimum age for work in canneries (see above), employers had no hesitancy in admitting their employment. Moreover, in the majority of places the local schools had opened, or were about to open, before the visits were made, and many children had left their work in the canneries to return to school. In one cannery 40 girls of school age and in another 25 had left the week preceding the visit in order to attend

---

[10] Wash., Laws of 1909, ch. 249.

[11] Since the time of this study the office of the State attorney general has rendered an opinion, dated Oct. 1, 1924, that the earlier law is still in effect.

[12] Wash., Laws of 1909, p. 890, sec. 195 (Pierce's Code 1921, sec. 8833); Laws of 1909, ch. 197, sub-ch. 16, sec. 2 (Pierce's Code 1921, sec. 5220).

[13] This power was given to the industrial-welfare commission by the minimum wage law of 1913, and transferred to the industrial-welfare committee by the Administrative Code of 1921, Laws of 1913, ch. 174; Laws of 1921, ch. 7, secs. 81 (5), 82.

[14] In addition, in places where attendance at continuation schools had been made compulsory, permits issued by local school officials are required for all minors leaving full-time day school to go to work, but such schools had not been established at the time of this study in any of the places in which canneries visited were located.

[15] Washington Industrial Welfare Committee Order No. 31, dated Aug. 28, 1922. The 8 hour law for females exempted fruit, vegetable, and fish canneries from its provisions (Wash., Acts of 1911, ch. 37, as amended by Acts of 1921, ch. 7).

or get ready for school. One cannery manager said that some of his workers had left and he was expecting the school-attendance officer to come any day for those who had remained. Another said that he had not started children under 16 on the pear pack as they would have to leave soon to go to school.

The Children's Bureau agents found some children under 16 years of age working in all except one of the canneries visited—a small establishment employing eight persons. They numbered 133 (4 per cent of the total number (3,364) of workers in the 16 establishments). Of these 115 (86 per cent) were girls, whereas girls and women were only 72 per cent of the total number of workers. They included 16 children (12 per cent) who were under 14 years of age, all but 2 of whom were girls. Besides 10 girls 13 years of age, 3 girls of 12, and 1 of 10 years of age, were at work.

KINDS OF WORK

Girls were employed chiefly in preparing and packing fruits and vegetables, boys in a variety of odd jobs. Fifty-seven of the 115 girls were preparing pears, peeling, coring, splitting, or packing into cans; 32 were snipping beans; 13 were sorting or packing berries; and 4, in one cannery visited in October, were quartering apples. The remaining 9 girls did various kinds of miscellaneous work, such as waiting on the tables and putting cans on trays, carrying pans, or helping in the warehouse. Seven of the 18 boys waited on tables "traying cans," 2 piled or packed filled cans into boxes or cases, 1, a boy of 15, fed a bean-cutting machine, and the remaining 8 did odd jobs such as nailing boxes, grading pears, sorting and packing berries, emptying pails of peelings, and stamping cans. Children under 14 did much the same kind of work as the older children; that is, the girls peeled, split, or packed pears and snipped beans and the boys did odd jobs. The youngest child found at work in the Washington canneries, a girl of 10, was sorting berries.

HOURS OF WORK

The hours of work were irregular and depended on the kind of product and the amount on hand. The majority of the canneries visited worked 10 hours a day when running full time, but they operated much longer hours at the peak of the season. Long hours and night work were more common during the berry season than at the time when the visits were made, according to cannery managers. Children as a rule worked the same hours as adults. The Washington Industrial Welfare Committee in 1922 had ordered a maximum 8-hour day and a 6-day week and had prohibited work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. for minors under 18.[16] Of the 15 canneries visited employing children only 2 maintained these standards, and these 2, according to pay-roll and office records, carefully observed the provisions as to hours of work and kept careful time records. In other canneries time records were not satisfactorily kept to show actual working time. Three kept no time records, but the others had kept some sort of time record, usually only for time workers, whereas many of the children, such as fruit peelers, corers, sorters, and packers, were paid on a piecework basis. The information regarding hours of

[16] Washington Industrial Welfare Committee Order No. 31, dated Aug. 28, 1922.

work had to be based, therefore, on the statements of employers and child workers.

One hundred and twenty-one (91 per cent) of the 133 children under 16 employed had worked more than 8 hours a day when the canneries had been running on regular but not unusual hours, and 63 (47 per cent) had worked 10 hours or more. Fifteen who had worked more than 8 hours and 5 who had worked 10 hours or more a day were under 14 years of age. Time records available for a few children showed extremely long hours for some during the last pay period preceding the visits. Five children (three boys who were 14 years of age or over and two girls, one of whom was under 14) were recorded as having worked 13 hours and one boy 14 hours. Thirty-three children (2 of whom were under 14 years of age) had worked at night; that is, after 7 p. m., the hour after which the employment of minors under 18 was prohibited by order of the industrial-welfare committee. At the time of the visits 2 had worked a 7-day week. As time records were generally lacking and parents were not interviewed in regard to the children's work no satisfactory evidence exists as to the number of hours of night work or the number of nights worked during the season.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Although raspberries, loganberries, and cherries are canned during the summer vacation of the schools, blackberries, pears, and apples are packed during September and October, and most of the schools in the districts in which canneries were visited, opened, the year of the survey at least, during the first week of September. In one district the opening of school was put off until September 17 to allow for the blackberry harvest. In the five canneries that were visited on or after the day school opened, two in October, 21 girls under 16 were found at work; 7 of these were 14 or 15 and 1 was 12 years of age, but only 2 had school-exemption certificates as required under the compulsory school attendance law (see p. 180).

The school attainment of the children in Washington canneries compared well with that of children in canneries of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana and was higher than that of children in canneries of the Eastern States. Four-fifths (82 per cent) of the 115 children of 14 and 15 years of age reporting had attended or completed the eighth or a higher grade, including more than two-fifths (44 per cent) who had entered high school. A few children were below normal grades for their ages (5 of the 40 children of 14 years of age reporting had not reached the seventh grade and 11 of 75 children of 15 years reporting had not reached the eighth), but the proportion is smaller than the average among this age group who are overage for their grades. (See footnote 18a, p. 47.)

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

The provision of the State child labor law prohibiting the employment of boys under 14 or girls under 16 in canneries without permits was violated in 13 of the 15 canneries in which minors were found at

work. Only 19 permits were found on file in the canneries visited, and of this number 5 were found to have been issued for an age older than the child actually was. In all, there were 99 violations; both of the 2 boys under 14 found employed and 97 of the 115 girls under 16 were without certificates.

ISSUING OFFICERS

Issuing officers were interviewed in all but one county in which canneries were found employing children under 16. Although responsibility for the issuance of permits to boys under 14 and girls under 16 (see p. 180) is definitely placed by the law with the superior-court judge of the county in which the applicant for a permit resides, a number of the judges had delegated the power—in two counties to subordinates in their offices, in two counties to local school officials (one an attendance officer, the other the head of the vocational department of the public schools), in one county to a city clerk, and in another to the employers themselves. Wherever the authority was delegated, the issuing was done over the rubber stamp of the judge who supplied the signed blanks to the issuing officer.

The law contains no provisions as to the requirements that must be met before the child is granted a permit, as to the procedure to be followed, or as to the forms to be used. In view of this, and of the frequent delegation of authority, it is not surprising that no uniformity was found in practice. Usually the child when applying for the permit was accompanied by his parent, but in two counties it was sufficient for him to bring a statement of his age from his parent. In either case, in most of the counties, the parent's statement was accepted without question as proof of the child's age, and no other evidence was sought. Several issuing officers stated that this lack of evidence was of no moment because no minimum age had been established by law at which children should be granted permits (see p. 180). Two officers claimed that in practice permits were not issued to children under 12; nevertheless they made no effort to determine whether the child's age was as claimed. In one of the two counties where school officials had been delegated to issue permits, the school census was referred to as evidence of the child's age, and if no census record was available he was required to bring some sort of documentary evidence; in the other the school census was used to check the parent's statement if the child was to leave school to go to work, but not if he was to work only in school vacation.

Except in one county where a city vocational-school official had been delegated to issue permits, no promise of employment was required and no inquiry was made as to what work the child was to do, though some of the permits stated that he should not be employed in a dangerous occupation or around machinery. In some of the counties the permit form indicated that it was intended to permit employment only during the summer vacation; one added that it was valid also for Saturday work; in a few the consent of the school superintendent was required before a child could be issued a permit to work during school hours. In one county the form used contained a statement that the child should not work at night.

SUMMARY

Washington holds eighth place among the States in the canning of fruits and vegetables and second in the canning of fruits alone. The principal canning crops are berries, apples, pears, prunes, and cherries. The Children's Bureau visited 16 of the 43 canneries in the State.

One hundred and thirty-three children under 16 (4 per cent of the total number of workers in the canneries visited) were found employed in 15 canneries. If the visits had been made at the height of the berry-packing season there is evidence that many more children would have been working in the canneries.

Girls were 86 per cent of the workers under 16.

Sixteen children (12 per cent of those employed) were under 14 years of age, including 2 under 12. Washington had at the time of this study no minimum age for employment in canneries. (See p. 180.)

Of the girls 50 per cent peeled, cored, split, or packed pears, 28 per cent snipped beans, 11 per cent sorted or packed berries, and 11 per cent did various other work.

The majority of the boys did odd jobs. One 15-year-old boy fed a bean-cutting machine.

Ninety-one per cent of the employed children worked more than 8 hours a day, and 47 per cent worked 10 hours or more. A few children worked 13 or 14 hours. Twenty-five per cent had been employed after 7 p. m., contrary to the order of the State industrial-welfare committee.

Employment certificates, required under the State child labor law for boys under 14 and girls under 16, were on file for only 27 of the 117 children who should have had them. Thirteen of the 15 canneries employing minors violated this provision of the law.

Responsibility for issuance of certificates, placed by law with the county superior-court judges, was often delegated to others. The law contains no provisions as to requirements for certificates, the procedure of issuance, or forms, and no uniformity in these respects was found.

WISCONSIN

INTRODUCTION

Wisconsin has attained importance in the vegetable and fruit canning industry within relatively recent years. The first cannery was established in the State in 1889.[1] Ten years later the census of 1900 reported 16 establishments with an average number of 676 wage earners engaged in the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables.[2] Since that time the industry has grown steadily. Ranking twelfth among the States in 1900,[3] according to the number of wage earners employed in canning, by 1925 Wisconsin had risen to sixth place,[4] and in the canning of vegetables alone (92 per cent of the value of the output of the canneries of the State in 1925 consisting of canned vegetables and soups),[5] it ranked fourth. The average number of persons employed in the industry in 1925 was 4,426; but in July, the peak month, 17,562 were employed.[6]

Although the canning industry ranks only fifteenth among the manufactures of the State according to the average number of wage earners employed,[7] it is one of the principal child-employing industries. Outside Milwaukee more employment certificates are issued in Wisconsin for work in canneries than in any other industry or occupation. In the State as a whole in 1925, the year in which the Children's Bureau survey of the canneries was made, the number of minors issued certificates for work in canneries was exceeded only by the number of those receiving certificates for work in one manufacturing industry—the metal-working trades—and in mercantile establishments; 11 per cent of the minors receiving certificates in the State were employed in canneries as compared with 12 per cent in metal-working industries and 15 per cent in trade.[8] Outside Milwaukee 18 per cent of the minors receiving certificates were employed in canneries.

THE CANNERIES

LOCATION, SIZE, AND PRODUCT

The Canners' Directory for 1925 lists 177 establishments canning fruits and vegetables in Wisconsin.[9] These were located in 48 of the 71 counties of the State, chiefly in the southeastern and central sections, though some of the western counties have a number of canneries.

---

[1] A History of the Canning Industry (Souvenir of the 7th Annual Convention of the National Canners and Allied Associations, Baltimore, February 2 to 7, 1914), p. 26. Published by The Canning Trade, Baltimore, Md., 1914.

[2] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, vol. 9, Manufactures, pt. 3, p. 471. Washington, 1902.

[3] Ibid, pp. 469–471.

[4] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 22–23. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[5] Ibid., p. 20.

[6] Ibid., pp. 7–8.

[7] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Statistics for Industries, States and Cities, pp. 99–101. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

[8] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Wisconsin Labor Statistics, January and February, 1926, pp. 13–15.

[9] Canners' Directory, 1925, pp. 167–176. Compiled by the National Canners Association, Washington, D. C. The U. S. Census of Manufactures for 1925 lists 150 establishments engaged in the canning of fruits, vegetables, pickles, etc. The Federal statistics for 1925 were, however, collected only from establishments reporting products of $5,000 or more. Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 2, 23.

As a rule, the Wisconsin canneries are in or on the outskirts of towns or small cities which are situated sufficiently near the farming district for farmers to haul their produce directly to the cannery.

Representatives of the Children's Bureau visited 55 canneries in 25 counties, 46 of which, in 23 counties, were operating at the time of the visits. (Table 52.) The survey covered practically all the more important canning counties in the southwestern, central, and western parts of the State. It was made during the period commencing July 3 and ending August 8, 1925, and all except 9 of the 55 establishments were visited in July, the peak month of the canning season.[10]

TABLE 52.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing minors of specified ages, number of persons and number of minors of specified ages employed in canneries in certain counties of Wisconsin*

County	Canneries visited				Persons employed					
	Total	Employing minors under 17 years		Not employing minors under 17 years	All ages	Under 17 years		Under 16 years		Under 14 years[1]
		Total	Under 16 years			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total	46	41	31	5	5,784	423	7.3	201	3.5	4
Barron	4	3	2	1	676	10	1.5	2	.3	
Chippewa	1	1	1		227	5	2.2	1	.4	1
Clark	3	2	1	1	500	27	5.4	18	3.6	
Columbia	1			1	176					
Dodge	3	3	2		309	27	8.7	15	4.9	
Eau Claire	2	2	1		347	8	2.3	1	.3	
Fond du Lac	2	2	2		291	38	13.1	18	6.2	
Jefferson	2	2	1		166	9	5.4	2	1.2	
Lafayette	1	1	1		121	21	17.4	16	13.2	
Langlade	1	1	1		150	13	8.7	1	.7	
Manitowoc	2	1		1	102	2	2.0			
Marathon	1	1			100	2	2.0			
Oconto	2	2	2		261	45	17.2	23	8.8	3
Ozaukee	7	7	6		611	72	11.8	41	6.7	
Polk	2	2	1		469	16	3.4	3	.6	
Rock	1	1			12	5	41.7			
Sauk	1	1	1		57	6	10.5	5	10.0	
Shawano	1			1	200					
Sheboygan	4	4	4		571	72	12.6	29	5.1	
Walworth	1	1	1		75	5	6.7	1	1.3	
Washington	1	1	1		83	13	15.7	7	8.4	
Waukesha	2	2	2		190	9	4.7	6	3.2	
Winnebago	1	1	1		90	18	20.0	12	13.3	

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

Peas are the principal crop canned, and constituted 71 per cent of the total goods canned in the State in 1925. Wisconsin ranks first among the States in the canning of peas and produces approximately half the peas canned in the United States. Other canned products include beans (almost 10 per cent of the output of the United States in 1925), corn, beets, kraut, and pickles.[11] At the time of the survey 34 establishments were canning peas; 10, beans; and 2, both peas and beans. (Table 53.) All the canneries that were not in operation when visited had been canning peas before they had closed down, a short time before. In addition to the crops

[10] Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 7–8.
[11] Ibid., pp. 16–19.

being packed at the time of the survey, 26 establishments canned other products—corn, beets, kraut, or pickles—in season. The great majority of the Wisconsin canneries visited, however, packed only one or two products, 16 of the 46 canning only peas, 3 only beans, and 12 only two crops.

TABLE 53.—*Number of canneries visited, number employing minors of specified ages, number of persons and number of minors of specified ages employed upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Wisconsin canneries*

Product	Canneries visited				Persons employed					
	Total	Employing minors under 17 years		Not employing minors under 17 years	All ages	16 years		Under 16 years		Under 14 years [1]
		Total	Under 16			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Total	46	41	31	5	5,784	222	3.8	201	3.5	4
Peas	34	30	23	4	4,596	158	3.4	125	2.7	1
Green and wax beans	10	9	6	1	900	51	5.7	74	8.2	3
Peas and green and wax beans	2	2	2	----	288	13	4.5	2	0.7	----

[1] Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

EQUIPMENT AND SANITATION

The pea canneries are substantially built, two or three stories in height, and generally in good repair. Although they are as a rule in operation only for six weeks to two months during the summer, substantial buildings are necessary for the housing of machinery used in canning peas.

Most of the canneries visited had at least two buildings, a main canning building and a warehouse. A large porch or shed open on three sides, which was known as "the viner shed" for vining peas adjoined the main building, which was usually frame, though 13 of the 42 canneries that employed minors had buildings of brick, tile, or cement; the warehouses were frequently of brick or of some other fireproof material. Some of the canneries had been recently erected and were well ventilated and well lighted with both natural and artificial light.

Although a number of old buildings were used for canneries, especially in the eastern part of the State where the industry had been longer established, with two exceptions the old buildings as well as those more recently built were in good repair. The yards of many of the canneries were well kept although there was occasionally a slight odor from the stack on which pea vines were piled.

Up-to-date machinery for snipping beans, vining peas, and various other processes such as grading, washing, blanching, filling, closing, processing, and labeling, had been installed in many of the canneries. Except in the viner sheds little hand carrying was done in pea canneries, moving belts and elevator or gravity carriers being in common use. Although automatic conveyors were used in bean as well as in pea canneries for part of the work, men or boys were also employed in some establishments to carry the beans in wooden boxes from the

snipping to the sorting table, to the cutting machines, or from the blancher to the filling machine. Bean-snipping machines, which a number of canneries had installed, had eliminated much hand labor.

Wet floors are not so serious a problem in pea and bean canneries as in tomato canneries. Nevertheless, although in most of the Wisconsin canneries the floors, on the ground floors at least, were concrete or asphalt and were especially constructed so that the water might drain off into gutters, in all but 2 of the 30 canning peas at the time of the survey, in 4 of the 10 canning beans, and in the 2 canning both vegetables, the floors were damp or wet. In some the floors were only damp, but in a few, puddles of standing water had collected. Near blanching, filling, and closing machines especially, in both bean and pea canneries, wet places were found. Girls working near the filling machine in a bean cannery said that their rubbers did not keep their feet dry, although in this as in other bean canneries the floor about the snipping table was dry. In pea canneries the floor near the packing or inspecting tables was likely to be wet, and it was here that many of the women and girls worked. In one pea cannery conditions were aggravated by overhead elevator conveyors enclosed in wooden casings from which water leaked and dripped down on the floor and on the girls. In most of the canneries the floors even if damp were kept clean by frequent washings with water and steam; in only one cannery where the workers dropped the waste from the beans directly upon the floor were the floors reported as dirty.

Some canneries furnished wooden platforms to protect workers' feet. In one cannery where the platform at the filling machine was inadequate, girl workers wore rubbers. Men and boys employed at the blancher and in other wet places sometimes wore rubber boots. Foot rests, attached to either chairs or tables, provided in many of the up-to-date canneries, afforded satisfactory protection against the wet floors for those who sat at their work.

Most of the canneries complied with the provision of the law that requires "suitable seats" for women workers.[12] Seats of some kind were found in the 39 canneries for which this information was obtained and were used by the women and girls working at conveyor tables; in some cases chairs and stools were adjusted to the height of the tables. In seven canneries the boxes or benches that were furnished might not be considered as "suitable" under the law [13]; in one of these, boxes set end to end supplied seats which were not high enough for the "pickers" to work comfortably at the moving belt.

Toilets were provided in every cannery and, as the regulations of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission require, were separate for the sexes.[14] More than half the canneries where minors were employed had flush toilets; the others had outside privies. Some kind of dressing room was also usually provided; in some canneries it was merely a place for hanging wraps, but in others it was furnished with chairs or rockers, a couch, and a table for lunches. Two canneries were equipped with shower baths for men.

---

[12] Wis., Stat. 1925, sec. 103.16, p. 1142.

[13] The Wisconsin Industrial Commission, in Factory Equipment, Housekeeping, and Supervision, Handbook for Employers, September, 1920, p. 22, recommends adjustable stools or chairs. For operations where high chairs are necessary, foot rests, preferably attached to the work table, are recommended.

[14] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, General Orders on Sanitation, 1921, Order 2201, p. 16.

THE LABOR SUPPLY

The 46 canneries visited in Wisconsin were reported as employing 5,784 workers, an average of 126 persons per establishment.[15] (Table 52.) The number of workers most frequently reported was between 100 and 200, the number reported by 24, or approximately half the establishments. Six reported between 200 and 250 workers, but no larger number was reported in any cannery visited in Wisconsin; 13 between 50 and 100 workers, 1 between 25 and 50, and 2 less than 25 workers.

Girls and women constituted only 36 per cent of the total employees in the Wisconsin canneries, a smaller proportion than in any of the States in which the Children's Bureau surveyed canneries. In the 10 bean canneries this proportion was 46 per cent. Except in 7 establishments, 4 of which were canning beans at the time of the visit, female workers were in the minority.

The towns or villages in which the canneries were situated or the surrounding country supplied the labor for most of the Wisconsin canneries. The female labor in some canneries consisted of daughters of the farmers in the neighborhood. Some country canneries sent out trucks each day to near-by towns for workers. A number of cannery managers, even those in small towns, said that local labor was easy to get, though others gave the scarcity of labor as the reason for employing minors. Two of the canneries visited, one of which employed nearly 200 workers, maintained boarding houses for men whom they brought in from a distance. Probably the greater part of the labor supply was native born, including many workers of German stock.

LAWS REGULATING CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

The Wisconsin child labor law [16] gives children at work in canneries the same protection as children in other industrial occupations. The minimum age is 14, and though work at 12 years of age is permitted during the school vacation in stores, offices, and certain other employments, this exemption does not apply to canneries or other factories. Children between 14 and 16 years of age must not be employed more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours a week, or 6 days a week, or between the hours of 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

Children between 14 and 17 years of age are required to obtain certificates issued either by the State industrial commission, which enforces the child labor law, or by a county, municipal, or juvenile court judge or other person designated by the commission. To obtain this certificate or "permit," as it is called in the Wisconsin law, a child must bring a signed promise of employment from the person desiring to employ him and must present such proof of age as is required under the regulations of the industrial commission. (See p. 202.) If he is to be employed during school hours, he either must have completed the eighth grade or must have attended school for nine years. The industrial commission or the issuing officer appointed

[15] The number reported by the United States Census as employed in the canning of fruits and vegetables in Wisconsin at the peak of the canning season of 1925 (July) was 17,562, or an average of 117 wage earners for the 150 canneries reported by the census for the State. (Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, pp. 6–7.)

[16] Wis., Stat. 1925, sec. 103.05–103.15.

by the commission has power to refuse to issue a permit to a child who in the opinion of the issuing officer seems physically unable to do the work he intends to undertake, or to refuse to grant the permit if in his judgment the best interests of the child will be served by the refusal.[17]

For the protection of employers of minors claiming to be over 17 years of age but in fact under that age, the law gives the industrial commission power to issue certificates of age to minors under such regulations as it shall deem necessary. These certificates are issued to minors between 17 and 21 years of age by the officer authorized to issue employment certificates, upon presentation of satisfactory evidence of age.

Besides control over the method of issuing permits through the appointment of issuing officers and the power to refuse certificates, the law gives the commission other important supervisory powers. (See pp. 203–204.)

A large number of occupations and processes are prohibited by law to minors under 16, under 18, and under 21 years of age. The law further states that no female and no minor shall work at any employment dangerous or prejudicial to his life, health, safety, or welfare, and the industrial commission has power to determine what occupations shall be prohibited under this clause. Numerous rulings have been made by the commission, but none apply to occupations peculiar to canneries and with a single exception the occupations specifically prohibited are not those carried on in canneries.[18] This exception is the prohibition of the employment of any female under 17 years of age in any capacity where her work compels her to remain standing constantly. Another statute provides that "suitable seats" for females must be provided in "manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments," and the use of such seats must be "permitted" when the workers are not necessarily engaged in the active duties for which they are employed. (See p. 188.)

The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin is given broad regulatory powers over the employment not only of children but also of all females. As regards the employment of female workers, these powers extend to "manufactories" and many other establishments, as well as any trade, occupation, or process of manufacture in which any female is engaged, and it is stipulated that no female shall be employed or permitted to work for "such periods of time during any day, night, or week as shall be dangerous or prejudicial to the life, health, safety, or welfare of such female." A schedule of maximum hours is prescribed (9 a day and 50 a week for day work, and 8 a night and 48 a week for night work), but these hours may be altered by the orders of the commission, and special orders applying to canneries have been made by the commission each year since 1913 in the case of pea canneries and since 1918 in the case of establishments canning beans and corn.[19] These cannery orders for the season of 1925 fixed a maximum 9-hour day and 54-hour week for all girls of 16, and specified that normally the same provision should apply to girls and women 17 years of age

[17] The commission has ruled that no permit shall be issued to a child under 17 in a number of occupations including work given out by factories to be done in homes. This ruling, according to information from the commission, would apply to any work sent into the home by canning factories. Bean snipping was found to be a type of work given out by canneries to be done in homes on which children were employed.

[18] In addition, the law prohibits oiling or cleaning dangerous machinery in motion to minors under 18, and oiling or assisting in oiling, wiping, or cleaning machinery in motion to children under 16. No minors under 17 were found engaged in these occupations in the canneries visited.

[19] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Biennial Report, 1918–1920, pp. 47–48.

and over, except that in genuine emergencies, on not more than 8 days during the season, the latter might be employed for not more than 11 hours a day in the case of pea canneries and 10 hours in establishments canning beans, corn, cherries, and tomatoes, the weekly total not to exceed 60 hours. Under the special cannery orders the employment of girls of 16 and over at night was permitted, but a period of rest of at least 9 consecutive hours from the ending of work on any day to the beginning of work on the next day was required, a "day" being considered the 24-hour period beginning at 6 a. m. of each calendar day.

The hours of labor of boys 16 years of age and over are not regulated by law except that, in cities where vocational schools are established,[19a] the total number of hours of work and required school attendance must not exceed 55 for boys of 16.

The enforcement of the laws regulating the employment of minors has doubtless been assisted by a provision of the Wisconsin workmen's compensation law (in effect since 1917) requiring compensation double or treble the amount otherwise recoverable in case of minors illegally employed.[20]

CHILD LABOR IN CANNERIES

AGE AND SEX OF MINORS

Children under 16 were found at work in 31 of the 46 canneries visited, and minors 16 years of age, who are subject to the certificate requirements of the Wisconsin child labor law, in 10 others. (Table 52.) The group under 16 numbered 201 (130 girls and 71 boys), or 4 per cent of the total persons employed, and those of 16 years numbered 222 (116 girls and 106 boys). Although females were in the minority among the workers as a whole, girls formed 65 per cent of the working children under 16 and 52 per cent of those 16 years of age. Boys under 16 numbered more than girls of that age in 12 canneries, however, and boys of 16 numbered more than girls in 17 canneries.

Children were much more generally employed in bean than in pea canneries—8 per cent of the workers in the bean canneries and 3 per cent in the pea canneries were under 16. (Table 53.) Sixty-two per cent of the children under 16, and 71 per cent of those who were 16 years of age, were employed in canneries packing only peas, whereas 80 per cent of the total employees of the establishments visited were in canneries the only product of which was peas. Bean canneries also employed more girls than boys.

Besides the children working in the bean canneries children were employed also in their homes to snip beans. A number of the canneries visited reported giving out beans to be snipped, at least at the height of the season. One cannery had all bean snipping done outside but kept no record of the number or ages of persons doing the work; another, which was equipped to do some snipping in the plant, also employed from 14 to 20 families to do the work at home, keeping no record of the number or ages of the children employed. Bean-snipping machines, which had been installed in all but 2 of the 10 canneries packing beans, have eliminated a great deal of the

[19a] The Children's Bureau study was made in the summer when vocational schools are not in session.
[20] Wis., Stat. 1925, sec. 102.09 (7).

hand snipping formerly done both at home and in the canneries.[21] One manager, for example, stated that in 1925 he had installed three bean-snipping machines and employed no home workers, whereas the previous year with only half as large an acreage of beans he had employed about 100 families to snip beans at home.

VIOLATIONS OF AGE STANDARD OF STATE CHILD LABOR LAW

Only 4 children under 14, the legal age for employment in Wisconsin, were found at work, all in two canneries. (Table 52.) A boy of 13 had gone to work feeding a vining machine without a certificate by claiming to be 17 years old, but was later found to be only 13. Three girls of 13 who snipped beans had had certificates properly issued to them as 14 and 15 years of age and on file in the cannery office.

KINDS OF WORK

Nearly all the girls in Wisconsin canneries either "picked peas" (that is, inspected peas as they passed on moving conveyors and picked out foreign substances) or snipped beans; the great majority of the boys did general or miscellaneous work. (Table 54.) Of the 218 girls whose occupations were reported 120 (55 per cent) were pea pickers. These included 66 of the 67 girls under 16 working in canneries packing peas at the time of the visits. Eighty-one (37 per cent), including 55 of the 60 girls under 16 in establishments canning green beans, were bean snippers. Most of the bean snippers were working at moving belts inspecting beans after they had gone through the snipping machines and snipping those that the machine had passed. Only 7 girls under 16 did other kinds of work such as packing and sorting beans. Several 16-year-old girls were can girls.

The occupations of 147 boys were ascertained; 47 of 63 boys under 16 and 72 of 84 of 16 years of age were engaged in general or miscellaneous work about the cannery. Among them were 39 can boys, of whom 16 were 14 or 15 years of age and 23 were 16. The largest number of boys under 16 in any other one occupation was 8; these removed empty cans from crates and packed them after they had been taken by others from the closing machines. Only 3 boys under 16 did the heavier work of taking the cans from the closing machine and piling them into the crates. Seven boys under 16 were employed to make cartons or boxes, which is comparatively light work, and 8 did various kinds of odd jobs, such as sweeping and cleaning, washing boxes, or carrying empty boxes. None under 16 operated a machine, but one fed a vining machine and another a blanching machine, work that involved lifting up boxes of peas and emptying them into the hopper of the machine. Sixteen boys employed in special operations connected with pea or bean canning did work similar to that of boys engaged in general work; these included 11 helping at the vining machines, who either placed empty boxes under the machine or removed boxes when filled, a few who carried boxes of peas or beans from one operation to another, and a child of 13 who fed a vining machine, which is heavy work usually done by adults. Boys of 16 did work like that of younger ones except that relatively more piled cans in crates and carried boxes of beans or peas, which weigh about 30 pounds when filled.

---

[21] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Biennial Report, 1920–1922, p. 32. Madison, 1923.

TABLE 54.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed in specified processes upon certain products being canned at time of visit in Wisconsin canneries*

Product and process, and sex of minors	Minors under 17 years employed		
	Total	16 years	Under 16 years
Total	423	222	201
Total reported	365	175	190
Special processes:			
Peas	139	60	79
Picking	120	54	66
Feeding viner	1		1
Taking off viner	13	2	11
Carrying boxes	5	4	1
Green and wax beans	97	34	63
Snipping	81	26	55
Packing	6	1	5
Carrying boxes	6	4	2
Other	4	3	1
General occupations	129	81	48
Can boys and girls	45	28	17
Piling and stacking cans	7	6	1
Piling cans in crates	13	10	3
Taking cans from crates and packing	22	14	8
Making cartons or boxes	10	3	7
Other	32	20	12
Not reported	58	47	11
Boys	177	106	71
Total reported	147	84	63
Special processes:			
Peas	19	6	13
Feeding viner	1		1
Taking off viner and carrying	13	2	11
Carrying boxes	5	4	1
Green and wax beans	9	6	3
Carrying boxes	6	4	2
Packing	1		1
Other	2	2	
General occupations	119	72	47
Can boys	39	23	16
Piling cans in crates	13	10	3
Taking cans from crates and packing	22	14	8
Piling and stacking filled cans	3	2	1
Making cartons or boxes	10	3	7
Other	32	20	12
Not reported	30	22	8
Girls	246	116	130
Total reported	218	91	127
Special processes:			
Peas: Picking	120	54	66
Green and wax beans	88	28	60
Snipping	81	26	55
Packing	5	1	4
Other	2	1	1
General occupations	10	9	1
Can girls	6	5	1
Piling and stacking cans	4	4	
Not reported	28	25	3

HOURS OF WORK

The Wisconsin Industrial Commission requires that permanent time records be kept for all girls and women and for boys under 17 employed in canneries and that a detailed report of the hours worked each day by such employees should be made to the commission by the employer not later than November 1 of each year, on blanks furnished by the commission.

Time records showing the hour of beginning and of ending work and the time off for meals were kept as legally required for minors in all but three of the Wisconsin canneries visited. Two of these had time records of some sort; the other kept time records for workers on peas but not for workers on beans, the crop being canned at the time of the visit.

Daily hours.

Most of the canneries visited were in operation both night and day when running full time. The regular day hours in most establishments were from 7 or 8 a. m. to 12 and from 1 to 5 or 6 p. m., but in some the hour of beginning was irregular. One cannery, for example, usually started at 1 p. m. because the farmers delivered the peas at that time. Night hours were often irregular, from 7 p. m. to 11 or 12 or later, depending on the supply of peas or beans to be packed. Total daily running hours of 15 or 16 or more were frequent. In 1911 when the Bureau of Labor Statistics made a survey of pea canneries in Wisconsin, long runs were also common but there was only one shift for women;[22] in 1925 most of the canneries visited had two shifts for women and one for men. This improvement was no doubt due to the regulations fixed by the industrial commission under powers given it in 1913, and to the special efforts of the commission to enforce the law. Only one cannery had two shifts for men; another with one shift employed extra men to take the place of regular workers who did not wish to work at night. The hours of the women's shifts varied. In some establishments the day shift was regularly from 7 to 6 with an hour at noon and the night shift from 7 p. m. to 12 or 1 a. m.; in a few establishments women worked at night on alternate days, one day for example, from 7 a. m. to 12 noon and from 7 p. m. to 12 midnight and the next day from 1 p. m. to 7 p. m. Children under 16 worked regularly only during the day time; girls of 16 were usually employed on the women's day or night shifts and boys of 16 worked the same hours as the men.

Children between 14 and 16 are not permitted by the child labor law of Wisconsin to work more than 8 hours a day. Orders of the State industrial commission (see p. 190) prohibit the work of girls of 16 in canneries for more than a 9-hour day.

Information as to daily hours of work was obtained for 405 of the 423 minors under 17 found at work. (Table 55.) Twenty-two children under 16 (12 per cent of that group) had been employed more than 8 hours a day, a smaller proportion than in any of the other States included in the inquiry. (See p. 17.) Only 6 of the 16-year-old girls (5 per cent of the girls of that age) reported a longer working day than the 9 hours permitted by the industrial commission. Only 2 children under 16—a boy of 13 and one of 15—had worked

[22] Working Hours of Women in the Canneries of Wisconsin, pp. 8 and 33. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin 119. Washington, 1913.

10 hours or more in a single day. The boy of 15, according to his time record, had worked 16 hours one day carrying boxes of peas. Working days of 10 or 10½ hours were reported for 4 of the 6 girls of 16 who worked overtime contrary to the provisions of the State ruling. These girls piled and stacked filled cans; 2 others had snipped beans 12 hours a day.

TABLE 55.—*Maximum number of daily hours of work reported by boys and girls of specified ages employed in Wisconsin canneries*

Maximum number of daily hours of work and sex of minors	Minors under 17 years employed					
	Total		16 years		Under 16 years	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	423		222		201	
Total reported	405	100.0	214	100.0	191	100.0
8 hours and under	244	60.2	75	35.0	169	88.5
Over 8 hours	161	39.8	139	65.0	22	11.5
10 hours and over	81	20.0	79	36.9	2	1.0
12 hours and over	65	16.0	64	29.9	1	.5
14 hours and over	50	12.3	49	22.9	1	.5
16 hours and over	30	7.4	29	13.6	1	.5
Not reported	18		8		10	
Boys	177		106		71	
Total reported	166	100.0	100	100.0	66	100.0
8 hours and under	74	44.6	18	18.0	56	84.8
Over 8 hours	92	55.4	82	82.0	10	15.2
10 hours and over	75	45.2	73	73.0	2	3.0
12 hours and over	63	38.0	62	62.0	1	1.5
14 hours and over	50	30.1	49	49.0	1	1.5
16 hours and over	30	18.1	29	29.0	1	1.5
Not reported	11		6		5	
Girls	246		116		130	
Total reported	239	100.0	114	100.0	125	100.0
8 hours and under	170	71.1	57	50.0	113	90.4
Over 8 hours	69	28.9	57	50.0	12	9.6
10 hours and over	6	2.5	6	5.3		
12 hours and over	2	.8	2	1.8		
Not reported	7		2		5	

In contrast to minors whose hours were subject to State regulations, boys of 16 had markedly long hours of work. Reports of the daily hours of 100 of the 106 boys of this age showed that 82 had a working day of more than 8 hours; 75, over 9 hours; 62, 12 hours or more; 49 (approximately half), 14 hours or more; 29, 16 hours or more, of whom 9 had worked between 18 and 20 hours; and 10, 20 hours or more at a stretch. One boy had piled cans in crates 26¼ hours, from 8.30 one morning till 2.30 the next afternoon without stopping except for meals. His time record for the previous week showed 75 hours and included one working day of 15¼ hours and one of 18¼ hours. Two other boys in this plant had worked more than 20 hours a day. One of them, for whom a working week of 73¼ hours was recorded, had worked almost 20 hours and 21¼ at a stretch, except for time out

for meals, on two occasions in the same week. The other had worked one day of almost 20 hours and one of 22 hours in a working week which totaled 77⅓ hours. A boy in this cannery had worked at the blanching machine 56⅔ hours in the week, with a maximum working day of 16½ hours. The plant in which these boys were employed was said to have operated two shifts for men the previous year, but the year of the survey no special night shift was employed, so that at the peak of the pea-canning season men and boys were working day and night.

Another pea cannery had 3 boys of 16 for whom the time records showed a 20-hour stretch. One can boy had worked 20¼ hours in a day in a working week of 93½ hours. Two other boys had worked 19½ hours, and one boy had carried boxes of peas 18½ hours three times in a working week of 94½ hours. This cannery had two shifts for women, but men and boys worked on busy days from 7 a. m. to 6 p. m., with an hour off for lunch, and from 7 p. m. until the day's supply of peas was canned. Children under 16 employed in this cannery worked only 8 hours in accordance with the law—usually from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m., or 9 a. m. to 6 p. m., with an hour off for lunch—and girls of 16 worked 9 hours, from 8 a. m. to 12 and from 1 p. m. to 6.

Some of the 16-year-old boys who had worked long hours had done heavy work. For example, 9 had piled cans in crates, 4 had carried filled boxes of peas, and 2 had worked at a blanching machine either emptying boxes of peas into the hopper or removing boxes of peas. Two boys had operated a closing machine, each for a 16-hour day.[23]

Weekly hours.

The weekly hours of minors who had worked at least five days out of seven were ascertained from time records for 94 children under 16 and for 109 of 16 years of age; that is, for nearly half the total number of minors under 17, relatively the same proportion of boys and of girls. Although time records were kept for most of the minors under 17 years of age found at work in Wisconsin canneries, information regarding weekly hours was not obtained for all of them, either because time records were not available for a full pay period or because the children had not worked as many as five out of seven days.

Only one child under 16 whose weekly time record was obtained, a girl, had worked more than 48 hours and for a 7-day week in violation of the law. Many had worked much less than 48 hours in one week owing to the arrangement of shifts. Some worked only in the morning, others only in the afternoon, others a half day and whole day, alternately. Sixty-two of the 94 under 16 had worked on as many as six out of seven days, but only 21 of these had worked both

[23] The following information has been received (November, 1929) from the Wisconsin Industrial Commission regarding efforts made since the date of this study to reduce the hours of labor of boys 16 years of age in canneries:

In 1926, 1927, and 1928 the commission wrote the canning companies urging them to limit the hours of work of 16-year-old boys to 10 a day and 60 a week. In 1929, not being satisfied with the response to these requests, the commission advised the companies that employment certificates would be issued to 16-year-old boys to work in canneries only on the express condition that their hours of work should not exceed these hours, and that in case of violations the permits not only would be revoked promptly but would be withheld for the employment of boys of this age by the offending companies. (The commission has power to refuse to issue a permit if in its judgment the best interests of the child will be served by the refusal.)

The records of the commission showed that 51 of 123 companies in 1927 and 55 of about 145 companies in 1928 had employed 16-year-old boys more than 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week. In 1929, 23 of 144 companies inspected by the commission employed boys in excess of these hours. The number of boys involved was 58, as compared with 261 in 1928. The maximum day in 1929 was 19½ hours, whereas in 1928 the maximum day was 22 hours.

The commission states that the attitude of the great majority of the companies was most gratifying and indicates that another season will find the situation well in hand.

morning and afternoon each day; 32 others had worked on only five days, 21 of them for five full days.

Sixteen-year-old girls often worked the same hours as women, either on a day or a night shift. Twenty-two of the 61 who had worked five days out of seven and whose hours were reported had worked more than 48 hours, including 3 who had been employed more than 54 hours in a week in violation of the law for girls of this age. These 3 girls had worked seven consecutive days. Sixteen-year-old boys were often employed excessively long hours, and not only on occasional days. (See p. 195.) Of the 48 whose weekly time records were obtained 32 had worked 60 hours or more, including 9 who had worked 80 hours or more. Five of these had been employed 90 hours in one week, including one boy who had worked for seven consecutive days.

Night work.

The child labor law of Wisconsin prohibits the employment of children under 16 between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. The prohibited period is longer than is common—the former Federal child-labor laws, for example, in effect proscribed night work between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. During the course of the Children's Bureau visits 15 children under 16—12 girls and 3 boys—were found to have worked at night in violation of the State law; all these children, 11 of whom were employed in one cannery snipping beans, had worked after 7 p. m. (Table 56.) Most of these children had worked from three to four hours on three nights during the week preceding the visit, but a few had worked longer, one boy's record showing from 5 to 9 hours on two evenings during the prohibited hours. The 11 children who were snipping beans worked from 7 to 9, 10, or 11 p. m. after their regular day shift on two or three nights of the week preceding the visit; the other children worked till 11.30 or 12—one, the boy mentioned above, until 4 a. m. on one morning of the week for which his time record was copied. Information as to the number of nights children had worked throughout the entire season was not obtained for the Wisconsin canneries.

TABLE 56.—*Boys and girls of specified ages employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in Wisconsin canneries*

Age	Boys and girls under 17 years employed								
	Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Boys			Girls		
				Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.		Total	Employed between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.	
		Number	Per cent [1]		Number	Per cent [1]		Number	Per cent [1]
Total	423	121	28.6	177	77	43.5	246	44	17.9
13 years	4	1	----	1	1	----	3	----	----
14 years	68	1	1.5	25	----	----	43	1	----
15 years	129	13	10.1	45	2	----	84	11	13.1
16 years	222	106	47.7	106	74	69.8	116	32	27.6

[1] Per cent not shown where base is less than 50.

Thirty-two of the 16-year-old girls (28 per cent of the 116 girls of that age) and 74 of the 16-year-old boys (70 per cent of the 106 boys of the same age) were reported as having been employed after 7 p.m. or before 6 a. m. Neither boys nor girls of this age were subject to night-work regulations, but the smaller proportion of girls than of boys 16 years of age employed at night may have been due to some extent to the indirect restriction imposed upon hours of girls by a cannery order requiring a period of rest of at least 9 consecutive hours from the ending of work on any day to the beginning of work on the next day, a "day" being considered the 24 hours following 6 a. m. Girls also worked shorter hours at night than boys, the majority having been employed less than 6 hours on one or more nights, whereas the majority of the boys had worked six hours or more. Although 6 girls employed in two canneries had worked on 6 nights or more in one week, on some nights for 8 hours or longer, stopping work at 4 or 4.30 a. m., all of them had worked on the second shift for women, which in one cannery started at 5 or 7 p. m. and in the other either at 2 p. m. or at 7 p. m. The total daily working hours of 4 of these girls did not exceed 9, but 2 had worked 10 hours. Some of the other 26 girls who did night work were employed only on the second shift for women, the hours of which varied in the several canneries, and the remainder worked irregular hours. In one cannery, for example, in which time records showed night work for 10 girls, their hours were usually from 1 to 6 p. m. and from 7 to 11 p. m.; in another cannery employing 7 girls after 7 p. m. the hours were irregular but were frequently from 9.30 a. m. to 12, from 1 p. m. to 6 p. m., and from 7 p. m. to 8.30 p. m. One girl in this cannery worked only on the night shift, from 7 p. m. to 1.15 a. m. In still another cannery one girl worked on the women's second shift, one day from 7 a. m. to 12 and from 7 p. m. to 11 p. m. and the alternate day from 1 to 6 p. m. The daily hours of only 2 of the 26 exceeded 9 and none failed to have the 9 hours of consecutive rest as prescribed by law.

Fourteen of the boys with night-work records had worked from 8 to 10 hours, and 9 had worked 10 hours or longer. Of these, 11 had worked all night till 4 or 5 a. m., 2 till 5.15 or 5.30 a. m., 6 till 6 or 6.30, and 1 till 7 a. m. All except 2 of these 23 boys were employed day as well as night hours during the week they had worked all night; 16 had worked four mornings or more in the week, beginning usually between 7 and 9.30 a. m., and on five or six afternoons as well as at night. Fifteen had spent at least four nights out of seven at work, including five who had each had a record of six consecutive nights. These boys had at least one working week of from 89 to 94 hours; the boy with an 89-hour week had begun on two of five mornings as early as 7.45 though his work on the previous nights had not terminated until 2 a. m. and 1.30 a. m., respectively.

CANNERY WORK AND SCHOOLING

Cannery work on peas and beans interferes but little with school attendance, as most of the work of packing these crops is done during the school vacation.

The school attainment of minors working in Wisconsin canneries was high. Children of 14 and 15 years were more advanced in school than children of these ages found working in canneries in the other States included in the Children's Bureau survey in 1925, with the

exception of Michigan. The school grade completed or last attended was reported for 364 of the 423 minors under 17. Ninety per cent had either completed or at least attended the eighth grade, including 59 per cent who had attended high school. Of the 14 and 15 year old children, 87 per cent had attended or completed the eighth grade, and 46 per cent were in high school. All except 12 of the 59 fourteen-year-old children and all except 10 of the 112 fifteen-year-old children had attended or completed the eighth grade.

CERTIFICATION OF MINORS

EXTENT

The child labor law of Wisconsin requires that all minors between 14 and 17 years of age obtain an employment certificate before they can be employed. (See p. 189.) All but 20 (95 per cent of the 419 minors of these ages found at work) had certificates on file, a considerably larger proportion of the minors of certificate age than in any of the other States in which canneries were visited by the Children's Bureau. (See p. 21.) The 20 without certificates were employed in 14 canneries in 11 counties. In only 4 of these canneries was more than one minor employed without a certificate: Three employed 2 minors and one, 4. Only one of the workers without a certificate was under the legal age for employment, and the rest were 15 or 16 years of age, generally 16. In most cases these children had given their ages as 17 or 18, but in at least 2 of the canneries employing more than one minor under 17 without a certificate the children in question did not attempt to disguise their ages, and their employment was apparently due to their being taken on at the height of the rush season, when the management had exercised less than the usual care in seeing that employed children were provided with certificates.

The small number of violations found indicates that almost all the Wisconsin canners were punctilious in their observance of the certificate law. The general respect for the industrial commission as a law-enforcing agency probably resulted partly from the fact that some of the canners had recently been detected in violations of the law by the commission, but in general it appeared to be the result of thorough acquaintance with the requirements of the law based on years of experience, the frequent inspections made by the staff of the commission, and the care with which the commission kept employers informed of the requirements of the law.

In the effort to prevent possible violations of the law, several canneries required that birth or baptismal records be produced, in most cases before the season began, by all applicants claiming to be 17 or 18, or at any rate all whose ages they did not know or whose statements they doubted. Some of them kept birth or baptismal records on file for all such minors in their employ. A number kept a record from year to year of the permits of the children whom they had employed so that they knew the birth date of many applicants. One canner kept a copy of the school census on file in the cannery office, referring to it for the ages of all applicants under 21, and in the case of those not listed in it he demanded birth records.

The provision of the workmen's compensation law relating to the illegal employment of minors (see p. 191) is undoubtedly a factor in making the employers careful in complying with the requirements

of the child labor law. One cannery, visited shortly after a fatal accident had occurred to a 16-year-old boy, had discharged all boys of permit age immediately after the accident and had put the responsibility for hiring minors on a new man.

ISSUING OFFICERS

Certificates are issued by the office of the State industrial commission in Milwaukee and by a county, municipal, or juvenile court judge or some other person designated by the commission in other parts of the State. Every county has one or more such permit-issuing officers. In addition, the women inspectors of the industrial commission, in connection with their inspection trips, issue certificates in emergency situations in the smaller towns, and in some cases where the locality has no issuing officer or the local issuing officer is absent applications are made by mail to the Madison office and certificates issued from there direct.

Issuing officers outside Milwaukee serve without compensation for this work. The industrial commission which appoints them has no funds for payment, and the collection of any fee from the child or employer has been held illegal in an opinion of the attorney general.[24] In the larger cities which have a number of minors of certificate age seeking employment throughout the year and where continuation schools have been established,[25] the director of the local continuation school in many cases had been designated as the local certificating officer, and in other communities the school superintendent or other school official has been so designated. In these cases the local school board bears the cost of the work of issuance. In the smaller towns, especially in those which have practically no child-employing industries except the canneries, the work of issuance is done almost entirely by persons who give their services.

The issuing officer's appointment expires each year and his authority to issue permits ends unless he is reappointed. His appointment also may be revoked at any time by the commission. As no payment can be given for the work by the commission, few are likely to be willing to undertake it who do not have some interest in doing it and in doing it well. Moreover, the commission takes pains to see that the best persons available are appointed and checks up on their work sufficiently to discourage the continuance in office of persons who are not really interested in discharging the responsibility satisfactorily.

A few issuing officers complained that too much time was required in view of the lack of compensation, but in general they seemed to appreciate the value of the work and were willing to do it without pay.

Representatives of the Children's Bureau interviewed officials responsible for the issuance of certificates in 29 of the 40 towns in which children were found working in the canneries. Besides these, the issuing officers in 3 towns in which the canneries were not in operation at the time of the visits were interviewed, and in one community

---

[24] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Handbook for the Use of Permit Officers in the Administration of the Child Labor Permit Law, p. 21. Madison, Mar. 10, 1923. (Mimeographed.)

[25] The law relating to the establishment of continuation or "vocational" schools, as they are called in Wisconsin, provides that a board of industrial education may be established in any town, village, or city of the State, and must be established in every town, village, or city of over five thousand inhabitants. To these boards is given the duty of establishing and maintaining vocational schools, and they must establish such schools on petition of 25 persons qualified to attend. (Stat. 1925, secs. 41.15 (1), 41.15 (9).)

in which the issuing officer was absent the details of certification were obtained from others familiar with the work. Thus information was obtained regarding the methods of 33 issuing officials in 36 communities.

The regular occupations of the 33 issuing officers were varied. Fourteen were public-school officials, of whom 6, all in cities of more than 5,000, were directors of the vocational or continuation schools, and 6, in towns of between 1,000 and 5,000 population, were the superintendents of local schools. Four local postmasters, each in a town of less than 1,000 population, and the municipal judge in a somewhat larger town, served as issuing officers. Town or city clerks in 4 small communities and justices of the peace in 3 others issued certificates. The 7 remaining issuing officers in towns of from 200 to 3,500 population were all local business men, 4 being bank officials or employees, 2 insurance agents (1 of whom also worked in a cannery), and 1 the vice president of the local cannery. Three of the school superintendents who had been designated to issue certificates also worked in the canneries during the summer time. Children employed in a cannery in a small village obtained certificates from the clerk of the circuit court in a neighboring county seat, a town of 3,000 to 4,000 population.[26]

Most of the issuing officers had made no provision for the issuance of certificates in their absence from town, but few of them were away from town during the summer for any length of time. In the six cities where certificates were issued by the directors of the vocational school, their secretaries attended to the work in their absence. The fact that such a large proportion of the minors in the Wisconsin canneries had certificates bears witness to the availability of the local issuing officer. Moreover, the industrial commission maintains such close supervision of the certification throughout the State that an issuing officer who spent much time out of town, thus causing inconvenience to children and employers, would not be kept on long in that capacity.

Three canneries reported that they sent to Madison for their permits as the community had no permit office. The management of one of these canneries, which was very careful about the employment of young persons, reported that they preferred to obtain their certificates from Madison because of the care taken in issuing them. In one other town where the local issuing officer's appointment had recently been canceled, certificates were being issued at the time of the inquiry by the Milwaukee office of the commission. A few other canneries in towns having no local issuing officer had their young workers obtain permits from neighboring towns. One canner said that as his town had no issuing officer he did not hire minors of certificate age.

[26] According to the report of the industrial commission, of the 204 commissioned permit officers in the service of the commission on July 1, 1925, 76 (37 per cent) were connected with the local public schools in a professional capacity—55 being superintendents of schools, 17 directors of vocational schools, 2 truant officers, 1 a teacher, and 1 a school nurse. In addition, permits were issued by members of the local school boards in 14 communities. In 29 cases judges served as permit officers, in 15 the local justice of the peace. In 12 other communities permits were issued by other town or county officials. Postmasters served as permit officers in 8 communities. In one town the secretary of the local Red Cross issued the permits, in another a "housewife." In the remaining 48 cases (24 per cent of the total number), local business men served as permit officers; 19 were bank employees, 9 merchants, 5 insurance agents, 5 attorneys, 3 physicians, 3 editors of local publications, 2 superintendents of manufacturing companies, and 2 in other occupations. (Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Wisconsin Labor Statistics, November, 1925, p. 6.)

REQUIREMENTS FOR ISSUANCE

Evidence of age.

The Wisconsin child labor law does not prescribe the kinds of proof of age that are legally acceptable for employment certificates but gives to the State industrial commission authority to determine the nature of the proof required. The following proof has been prescribed by the commission, to be required in the order designated:[27]

1. (*a*) Birth certificate; or (*b*) record of baptism which took place at least 10 years prior to the date of application for the certificate. (*Note:* The commission has ruled that a record of baptism as specified in (*b*) may be accepted as first-class proof without effort to obtain a birth certificate.[28])
2. Record of baptism of any date.
3. Bona fide contemporary Bible record or other documentary evidence satisfactory to the industrial commission.
4. Physician's certificate of age, corroborated by school record and parent's certificate

Of the 402 certificates found on file in the Wisconsin canneries, 44 per cent had been issued on evidence of age furnished by birth certificates and 48 per cent on baptismal certificates, a total of 92 per cent issued on evidence regarded as first class by the industrial commission.[29] In 14 cases certificates had been issued on other legally acceptable documentary evidence, such as Bible records, other religious or family records, insurance policies, and passports. Seventeen (4 per cent of the certificates issued) had been issued upon lower-grade evidence, such as physician's certificates of age and school records. In 11 of these cases evidence other than that permitted by law had been entered on the certificate as the proof accepted. In 3 cases physicians' certificates only, in 1 a physician's certificate and a school record, in 2 physicians' certificates and parents' statements, in 1 a school record, in 1 parents' statements corroborated by school record, and in 3 parents' statements apparently uncorroborated by other evidence. These 11 certificates were issued by 6 officials, 3 of whom issued 8 of the defective permits. One of these issuing officers had recently been dropped by the industrial commission as a result of laxity in obtaining proof of age.

Better evidence of age than that accepted by issuing officers was found by the agents of the Children's Bureau in 16 cases, in 11 of which the birth date accepted by the issuing officer was found to be wrong according to the better evidence. Nine of the 11 certificates had been issued by the same official who, although he reported having obtained birth records for all the children to whom he had issued certificates, had entered the ages of 3 children as older and of 6 as younger than their actual ages. Three children issued certificates by this officer were found to be 13 years of age according to birth records, although their ages as entered on their employment certificates were 14 and 15. In 3 other cases in which an issuing officer claimed birth records as the evidence accepted, no such records of birth were found in the records of either the State or the county board of health. In all, the evidence reported as accepted could not

[27] Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, Handbook for the Use of Permit Officers in the Administration of the Child Labor Permit Law, pp. 2, 8.

[28] Ruling of industrial commission adopted Mar. 30, 1920.

[29] Birth certificates could have been obtained for a larger number of these children as is shown by the fact that they were obtained by the Children's Bureau for 117 of the 192 minors issued certificates on baptismal records (see, however, p. 203).

be found by the agents of the Children's Bureau for 13 certificates, 7 of which had been issued by the officer referred to above; all 13 were reported as having been issued on the evidence of birth records.

All the issuing officers seemed familiar with the State regulations regarding the kinds of evidence that should be accepted as proof of age, and with almost no exceptions seemed to follow these regulations carefully. Recourse to the physicians' certificate of age apparently was had only when higher types of evidence could not be obtained. Some issuing officers said they always or usually tried to get birth records, but a considerably larger number gave baptismal records precedence as they were much easier to get. The impression that baptismal records were quite as good as birth records in Wisconsin seemed to be generally prevalent, doubtless because so many of the working children in the State had been baptised in Roman Catholic or in Lutheran churches, where children are baptised in infancy and good church records are kept. One issuing officer said that he had undertaken to check with birth records a number of baptismal records that he had accepted and had found that they agreed completely. This was true, also, of the records checked by the agents of the Children's Bureau, who obtained birth records for 117 children in 19 counties who had been issued certificates on baptismal certificates, the ages in birth records and baptismal certificates being identical in every case except one, in which the birth record reported the child a year older than the age entered on the baptismal certificate.

Other.

An examination of the certificates on file revealed a few minor defects, such as the omission of the child's or issuing officer's signature, of the parent's consent, or of the place of the child's birth or his address, the date of the issuance or expiration of the permit, or the omission of the personal description of the child. In 57 cases no record was made on the certificate, as provided by the form, of the receipt of a letter from the employer, which is required by law for both regular and vacation certificates. The Wisconsin law also requires that all certificates for vacation as well as for regular work be returned to the issuing officer, but the name of the issuing officer was not entered on 50 certificates and on 17 his address was not entered as required on the form. In a number of cases old and obsolete forms or forms intended for other purposes were used for certificates.

STATE SUPERVISION

Wisconsin provides more fully for a unified system of issuance of employment certificates under careful State supervision than any of the other States included in the Children's Bureau survey of canneries. The State industrial commission not only is given by law authority to issue all certificates throughout the State and to appoint the issuing officers in communities in which it does not itself issue, a power held by similar bodies in only six other States,[30] but also has more comprehensive powers in administration of the certificate law than have been granted to the State labor department of any other State.[31] Under the law establishing the commission it is given the duty of

[30] Connecticut, New Hampshire (State board of education enforces the certificate law and appoints the local school superintendents, who issue certificates), North Carolina, Oregon. In South Carolina the commissioner of agriculture, commerce, and industries, and in Vermont the commissioner of industries, issues all certificates.

[31] In Connecticut the State board of education, which issues certificates through its agents, has comparable powers.

administering and enforcing all laws relating to child labor and authority to adopt reasonable and proper rules and regulations relative to the exercise of its powers.[32] Under the child labor act the commission is authorized to make rules and regulations governing the kinds of proof of age that may be accepted for certificates (see p. 202), and under the authority given it to refuse permits if in its judgment the best interests of the child would be served by such refusal the commission had ruled that permits may not be issued for a number of occupations.

In addition to the control over the method of issuing permits given through the appointment of issuing officers and the power to make rulings, the law requires that permits shall be issued on forms furnished by the commission, that duplicates of all permits issued shall be returned "forthwith" to the commission together with a "detailed statement" of the character and substance of the evidence offered prior to the issuance, made on blanks furnished by the commission. The commission may also revoke any permit improperly or illegally issued, or if it finds that the physical or moral welfare of the child would best be served by its revocation.

Ample evidence was found that the commission exercised this authority with considerable thoroughness. Detailed instructions for issuing certificates have been drawn up by the industrial commission and are furnished each issuing officer. A special department has been established in the office of the commission in Madison, which not only issues certificates requested by mail (see p. 200) but also has general supervision over the issuance of permits throughout the State. When the duplicate permits are received from the issuing officers they are carefully checked for error, the proof of age is examined and if questioned is verified, the nature of employment is studied and if considered to be at all questionable more information is requested from either the permit officer or the employer.

Regarding the requirement that duplicates of all certificates issued be sent to the State industrial commission "forthwith," some of the issuing officers stated that they sent duplicates in as soon as certificates were issued, others that they sent them in about once a week, others once or twice a month, depending on the volume of the work. At the Madison office of the commission it was said that the law could be enforced more effectively if duplicates were sent in more promptly.

Where errors are found or any uncertainty exists as to the legality of the issuance, the local issuing officer is informed promptly by letter and the certificate revoked if necessary. Representatives of this department or factory inspectors engaged in the enforcement of the child labor laws visit the issuing officers from time to time to see how the work is being done, and to give advice or suggestions. Through these visits and the careful examination of the duplicates of the certificates issued, the commission is able to keep a close watch upon the work of the issuing officers, so that officers not performing the work satisfactorily may be replaced.

One reason why the commission exercises such care in examining duplicate certificates is the treble-compensation clause of the Wisconsin law. (See p. 191.) If a child is issued a certificate on insufficient evidence, which makes him older than his actual age, and is then

[32] Wis., Stat. 1925, secs. 101.02, 101.10.

employed in an occupation that is illegal for a minor of his actual age and is injured, he is denied the extra compensation that the law intended to give him.

The issuing officers interviewed bore testimony to the careful supervision given their work by the State commission. A number of the issuing officers reported that a deputy of the woman and child labor department of the commission called on them about once a year, or whenever she made her regular rounds, to talk over the problems of issuance. Following are typical statements made by issuing officers with reference to the amount of supervision and assistance furnished them by the State:

> Industrial commission supervises very closely. Checks each permit very closely and detects any errors. A deputy visits about once a year and sends frequent letters of instructions and explanations if a mistake has been made.

> Industrial commission is very particular how permits are issued and checks them over for errors; if incorrect they are returned or revoked. Deputy comes around once in a while. Also receive circular letters or instructions in case of mistake. Am kept well posted on all changes in the law.

> Personal visit from deputy about once a year. Have motto "If in doubt write Madison." Do not issue any permits unless they will stand the inspection given them in Madison.

> Industrial commission supervises very closely. Will answer any questions at length and frequently sends out instructions and suggestions. * * * Madison checks up every item on the permit and if not in harmony with the law or if occupation is not clear will immediately write back for more information.

> Industrial commission is very strict and checks over the permits when they are sent in to Madison. If incorrect, they are immediately returned for correction. Circular letters are sent whenever anything important happens. Personal letters are sent whenever I ask for information.

> The industrial commission supervises everything very closely and checks the duplicate permit the date it arrives in Madison and if anything is wrong notifies me immediately. I issued a permit on altered birth record, but Madison discovered the mistake and notified the company by telephone immediately to discharge the girl and notified me by letter the next day. You can't fool Madison. They're pretty strict. Am visited once or twice a year personally, and receive written instructions and criticisms.

Only two issuing officers said that they had not had much supervision. One of these, who seemed an unusually concientious officer, apparently had not received much supervision unless asked for because of the excellence of his work as issuing officer, as he reported that he had never received any certificates back for correction. One other issuing officer, who appeared to be very painstaking in his work, stated that although he had received advice from the commission by letter, he had never received a visit from a representative of the commission and was not sure that he was doing the work correctly.

In general the issuing officers seemed to understand the law and to be in sympathy with its purpose and to understand the necessity for careful issuance. One school superintendent, however, said he thought each permit officer should be allowed to "use his own discretion" in issuing permits, and another issuing officer, also a school superintendent, said he thought the law was too strict and that the permit officer in some cases should be allowed to use discretion.

SUMMARY

Wisconsin ranks sixth among the States, according to the number of wage earners employed in the canning industry. The principal products are peas, but beans, corn, beets, kraut, and pickles are

canned to some extent. The Children's Bureau visited 46 of the 177 canneries, 34 of which were canning nothing but peas when the visits were made.

Canning employs more children than any other industry or occupation outside Milwaukee, and in the State as a whole only the metal-working trades and mercantile establishments employ more than canning.

The labor supply for the canneries visited was local, generally white and native-born, but two canneries kept boarding houses for men imported into the communities for cannery work.

Two hundred and one children under 16, and 222 16-year-old children were found at work in 31 canneries. These included only 4 children under 14, the minimum age for employment in Wisconsin.

Sixty-five per cent of the workers under 16, and 52 per cent of the 16-year-old workers, were girls.

Fifty-five per cent of the girls inspected peas, 37 per cent snipped beans, and the others packed beans, sorted beans, or were can girls. Twenty-seven per cent of the boys were can boys; the others did a variety of work, including removing cans from crates, packing cans, taking cans from closing machines and piling them in crates, making boxes, sweeping and cleaning, washing boxes, carrying empty boxes and boxes of peas or beans, and helping on vining machines.

Twelve per cent of the children under 16 had been employed more than 8 hours a day, contrary to the hour provision of the State child labor law, although only 1 child under 16 had worked as long as 10 hours. One child for whom a report on weekly hours was obtained had worked more than 48 hours.

Five per cent of the 16-year-old girls had worked more than the 9 hours a day, and 5 per cent had worked more than the 54 hours a week, permitted by the State industrial commission for girls of 16.

Eighty-two per cent of the boys of 16, whose hours were not subject to State regulation, had worked more than 8 hours, 62 per cent 12 hours or more, and 49 per cent 14 hours or more; 60 per cent of those for whom reports were obtained had worked at least 60 hours a week. (See footnote 23, p. 196.)

Eight per cent of the children under 16 had worked between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. during the season of 1925 in violation of the State child labor law.

Twenty-eight per cent of the 16-year-old girls and 70 per cent of the 16-year-old boys, also had worked at night, but minors of 16 are not subject to night-work regulations.

Cannery work did not interfere with school attendance in Wisconsin. Most of the children are employed on peas or beans, the packing of which is done largely during school vacation.

Employment certificates, required under the law for all minors between 14 and 17 years of age, were on file for all except 20 (5 per cent of the minors under 17 found at work). Only 1 of the workers without a certificate was under the legal working age.

Ninety-two per cent of the certificates had been issued on birth or baptismal records, types of evidence prescribed as preferable by the State industrial commission. The Children's Bureau found that for 13 of the 177 certificates issued on birth certificates, no birth records were in existence. It also found that legally preferable evidence of age was available for 16 of the 402 children with certificates, of whom 3 were younger and 6 older than the age entered on their certificates.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I—STATISTICS OF FRUIT AND VEGETABLE CANNING ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1925

Number of establishments canning fruits and vegetables, pickles, jellies, preserves, and sauces, average number wage earners employed in year, number employed in peak month of year, and value of total and selected products, by States; 1925 [1]

State	Number of establishments	Wage earners		Value of products						
		Average number employed in year	Number employed on 15th day or nearest representative day of peak month	Total	Selected products					
					Canned vegetables and soups					Canned fruits
					Total	Selected vegetables				
						Tomatoes	Corn	Beans	Peas	
United States	2,403	85,866	(Sept.) 220,115	$616,070,748	$282,891,245	$42,680,352	$51,346,305	$19,653,296	$42,887,057	$102,638,209
Alabama	5	132	(Nov.) 517	909,774	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Arkansas	51	822	(Sept.) 3,233	2,327,226	(2)	1,638,698	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
California	309	23,384	(Aug.) 52,481	181,272,830	28,601,152	5,323,519	(2)	314,366	909,335	70,132,828
Colorado	21	563	(Sept.) 2,051	4,317,787	2,501,192	1,037,652	(2)	957,717	(2)	187,794
Connecticut	5	89	(Sept.) 206	556,203	51,759	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	
Delaware	55	1,261	(Sept.) 6,008	6,541,403	(2)	2,641,801	621,415	936,224	542,633	(2)
Florida	8	107	(Mar.) 255	416,984	1,800	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	178,998
Georgia	7	121	(July) 421	521,816	113,339	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	270,376
Illinois	100	3,633	(Sept.) 10,625	35,031,035	13,637,778	509,052	8,463,338	1,535,280	961,506	44,156
Indiana	124	4,663	(Sept.) 17,007	31,674,387	23,380,114	3,282,014	3,949,066	986,750	227,038	(2)
Iowa	62	2,181	(Sept.) 10,264	14,056,368	10,697,482	364,718	9,265,827	36,318	(2)	(2)
Kentucky	26	994	(Sept.) 2,159	6,173,128	871,699	605,747	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Louisiana	14	272	(July) 409	1,280,711	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Maine	99	1,067	(Sept.) 5,452	7,838,923	6,251,301	(2)	4,486,011	534,638	(2)	1,337,357
Maryland	322	6,949	(Sept.) 25,897	32,678,257	27,962,028	13,407,007	6,543,802	2,378,294	2,132,564	332,427
Massachusetts	31	417	(Nov.) 452	6,071,080	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Michigan	66	2,935	(Sept.) 7,629	14,332,863	6,055,245	381,472	767,405	1,770,197	(2)	2,746,173
Minnesota	38	1,309	(Sept.) 4,539	8,086,091	5,164,967	(2)	3,645,959	119,058	1,078,422	
Mississippi	8	325	(Nov.) 562	713,685	(2)	(2)	(2)	124,420	(2)	(2)
Missouri	105	1,767	(Sept.) 7,183	7,325,507	3,042,312	2,876,429	(2)	148,707	(2)	(2)
Nebraska	7	276	(Aug.) 1,154	1,233,046	1,037,468	97,653	630,649	(2)	(2)	
New Hampshire	3	27	(Sept.) 216	305,309	305,309	(2)	296,327	(2)	(2)	
New Jersey	66	4,814	(Sept.) 9,337	62,366,712	54,586,779	1,197,969	(2)	1,082,042	(2)	72,883
New York	211	7,517	(July) 14,638	59,461,252	22,475,652	1,106,981	3,771,940	4,163,323	7,240,809	6,821,562

Ohio	102	2,616	(Sept.)	8,524	18,375,009	7,544,471	531,368	4,634,781	323,179	712,469	129,856
Oklahoma	3	30	(Sept.)	163	113,305	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Oregon	57	2,420	(Sept.)	4,910	12,513,211	1,090,693	57,829	(2)	426,034	(2)	8,229,260
Pennsylvania	73	3,621	(Sept.)	5,911	35,208,238	13,367,249	837,604	1,103,129	585,798	331,793	775,532
Tennessee	40	616	(Aug.)	2,055	1,858,157	1,842,844	887,838	(2)	113,944	(2)	(2)
Texas	26	249	(June)	371	1,745,979	(2)	47,091	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Utah	32	1,782	(Sept.)	5,457	10,127,554	8,894,848	3,520,616	(2)	236,806	4,085,620	301,191
Vermont	10	90	(Sept.)	482	688,114	633,114	(2)	517,086	(2)	(2)	
Virginia	81	812	(Sept.)	3,363	2,719,744	2,352,571	1,736,013	(2)	83,834	(2)	442,390
Washington	55	2,835	(Sept.)	6,090	14,242,892	1,196,289	(2)	(2)	465,590	(2)	8,401,228
Wisconsin	150	4,426	(July)	17,562	29,870,848	27,756,457	(2)	2,216,544	1,858,364	21,385,711	(2)
All other States [3]	31	744	(2)		3,115,320	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)

[1] Compiled from Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1925, pp. 68–70,–7789, 82, 84–85. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1928.
[2] Information not available.
[3] Arizona, 2 establishments; District of Columbia, 2; Idaho, 4; Kansas, 3; Montana, 3; North Carolina, 1; North Dakota, 1; Rhode Island, 1; South Carolina, 3; West Virginia, 11.

APPENDIX II.—STATE REGULATION OF LABOR OF MINORS UNDER 18 IN CANNERIES AND OTHER MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS (JANUARY 1, 1930)

[Prepared in the industrial division of the Children's Bureau, by Ella Arvilla Merritt and Lucy Manning]

(The legal standards shown in this table apply, unless otherwise specified, until the child reaches the maximum age given; for example, if the age group specified is "16 to 18" the standards apply from the time the child reaches the age of 16 until he reaches the age of 18)

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALA.	*14.		*8–48–6 (under 16).		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).		*14 to 16 (regular certificate). Child 16 (age certificate).	
ARIZ.	14 (except boy 10 to 14 in nonharmful occupations outside school hours on permit).		*8–48 ___ (boy under 16, girl under 18).		*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (boy under 16, girl under 18).		*14 to 16.[3]	
ARK.	*14 (except during school vacation, child under 14 employed by parent, etc., in occupation owned or controlled by him).		*8–48–6 (under 16). *10–54–6 (16 to 18). 9–54–6 (any female).[4]		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16). *10 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 18). 9 p. m.–7 a. m. (girl under 18).		*14 to 16.[3]	
CALIF.	*15 during school hours, except that child 14 who is eighth-grade graduate may obtain permit for work if work is needed for family support; 14 outside school hours; 12 in school vacation or on weekly school holidays.		8–48–6 (under 18).[5]		10 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 18).[5]		*15 during school hours—requirement extends to 18 where continuation schools are established; 14 to 16 outside school hours or during school hours on special permit (see column 2); 12 to 16 during school vacation or on weekly school holidays.	
COLO.	14 (except child 12 or over during summer vacation on permit).[6]		8–48 ___ (under 16).[6] 8 per day (any female).[7]		*After 8 p. m. (under 16).[6] *8 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 14).		14 to 16 during school term; 12 to 16 during summer vacation.	

CONN.	14.		8–48–6 (under 16). 10–55 --- (any female).		6 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).[8] 10 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female 16 or over).[8]		14 to 16.	
DEL.	*14 (except (1) boy 12 or over, on permit, in occupations not dangerous or injurious, when not required by law to attend school, and (2) child whose labor is necessary for family support, with permit from State labor commission).	12 in establishments used for canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[9]	*8–48–6 (under 16). 10–55–6 (any female).[10]	No regulation for child under 16 in establishments used for canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[9] No regulation for females employed in canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[11]	*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16). 10 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female).	No regulation for child under 16 in establishments used for canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[9] No regulation for females employed in canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[11]	*14 to 16 (regular certificate). Girl 14 to 16, boy 12 to 16 (provisional certificate for work when not required to attend school).	None required in establishments used for canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.[9]
D. C.	*14.		*8–48–6 (under 18).		*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18). *10 p. m.–6 a. m. (boy 16 to 18).		*14 to 18.	
FLA.	14.		9–54–6 (under 16).		8 p. m.–5 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.	
GA.	14.		60 hours per week in cotton and woolen factories (all employees).[12]		7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.	

See footnotes at end of table, pp. 221–222.

APPENDIX II.—*State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (Jan. 1, 1930)*—Continued

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
IDAHO.	14 (except 12 or over during school vacation of two weeks or more).[13]		9–54___ (under 16). 9 per day (any female).	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females employed in packing, canning, curing, or drying perishable fruits and vegetables.[14]	*9 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).		No system of employment certificate issuance. Employer must keep age record of children between 14 and 16 employed in factory.	
ILL.	14 (except child under 14 doing voluntary work of a temporary and harmless character for compensation, when school is not in session).		*8–48–6 (under 16). 10 per day (any female).		*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.	
IND.	*14.		*8–48–6 (boy under 16; girl under 18).		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18).		*14 to 18.	
IOWA	14 (except child working in establishment operated by parent).		8–48___ (under 16).		6 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.	
KANS.	14.		8–48–6 [15] (under 16). 8–49½–6 (minor 16 to 18; any female).[15]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. Same as in other manufacturing establishments, but canneries are allowed 4½ hours overtime per week for 6 weeks during any one year.	6 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16). 9 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female).		14 to 16.	

KY.	14.	8–48–6 (under 16). *10–60___ (girl under 21).		6 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.
LA.	*14.	* 8–48___ (under 16). *10–60___ (boy 16 to 18; girl 16 to 21).		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18).		*14 to 16.
ME.	15 during school hours; 14 outside school hours.	8–54 [16]___ (under 16).	No regulation for child under 16 in manufacturing establishment or business the materials or products of which are perishable and require immediate labor thercon to prevent damage.	6 p. m.–6.30 a. m. (under 16).	No regulation for manufacturing establishment or business the materials or products of which are perishable and require immediate labor thereon to prevent damage.	15 during school hours; 14 to 16 outside school hours.
		9–54___[17] (any female).	No regulation for females in manufacturing establishment or business the materials of which are perishable and require immediate labor thereon to pevent damage.			
MD.	14.	8–48–6 (under 16).	No regulation for child under 16 in canning and packing establishments.	7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).	No regulation for child under 16 in canning and packing establishments.	14 to 16.
		10–60 [18]___ (any female).	No regulation for females employed in canning or preserving or preparing for canning or preserving perishable fruits and vegetables.			
MASS.	14.	*8–48–6 (under 16). 9–48___ (boy 16 to 18; girl 16 to 21).[19]		*6 p. m.–6.30 a. m. (under 16). 10 p. m.–5 a. m. (6 p. m.–5 a. m. in manufacture of textiles) (boy 16 to 18; girl 16 to 21).		*14 to 16 (regular employment certificate). 16 to 21 (educational certificate).

See footnotes at end of table, pp. 221–222.

APPENDIX II.—*State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (Jan. 1, 1930)*—Continued

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MICH.	15 during school hours; 14 outside school hours.		10-54___ (boy under 18; any female).	No regulation applicable to person, corporation, or association engaged in preserving and shipping perishable goods in fruit and vegetable canning or fruit-packing establishments [20]	6 p. m.-6 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18).	No regulation applicable to person, corporation, or association engaged in preserving and shipping perishable goods in fruit and vegetable canning or fruit-packing establishments.[20]	15 to 18 during school hours; 14 to 18 outside school hours.	
MINN.	14.		*8-48___ (under 16). 9-54___ (any female) (cities of first or second class).[17] 10-58___ (any female) (outside cities of first or second class).[17]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for female employees engaged in preserving perishable fruits, grains, or vegetables where such employment does not continue for more than 75 days in any one year.[14] Do.	*7 p. m.-7 a. m.		*14 to 16 during school hours.	

MISS.	14.	No regulation for fruit and vegetable canneries.[9]	8–44___ (under 16).	No regulation for fruit and vegetable canneries.[9]	7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).	No regulation for fruit and vegetable canneries.[9]	No system of certificate issuance, but employer must require parent's affidavit showing child's age and last grade attended for child 14 to 16.	No regulation for fruit and vegetable canneries.[9]
			*10–60___ (any female).[21]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments.				
			10–60___ (any employee).[22]	Do.				
MO.	*14 (except work or service performed for or under control of child's parent or guardian or, in hours when school is not in session, in industries employing less than 6 persons).		*8–48–6 (under 16).[23]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments.	*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).[23]		*14 to 16.	
			9–54___ (any female) (places of more than 3,000 population).	No regulation for females in establishments canning and packing perishable products in places of less than 10,000 population for 90 days annually.[14]				
MONT.	16.		Work in factory or place where any machinery is operated prohibited under 16 at any time. 8 per day (any female).		Work in factory or place where any machinery is operated prohibited under 16 at any time.		Work in factory or place where any machinery is operated prohibited under 16 at any time. Where continuation schools are established child 16 to 18, with certain exemptions, is required to have employment certificate for work in any occupation during school hours. Certificate of age required for minor 16 to 21 in any occupation for which minimum age is 16 (see columns 2 and 3).	
NEBR.	14.		8–48___ (under 16). 9–54___ (any female) (in cities of first and second class).		8 p. m.–6 a. m. 10 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female) (in cities of the first and second class).		14 to 16.	

See footnotes at end of table, pp. 221–222.

APPENDIX II.—*State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (Jan. 1, 1930)*—Continued

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NEV.	14 in any business or service during school hours.[24]		*8–48___ (boy under 16; girl under 18).		No provision.		Permit from judge required for boy under 14 and girl under 16. Certificate from school authorities required under continuation school law for child 14 to 18, for any work during school hours.	
N. H.	14.		*10¼–54___ (boy under 18; any female).[23]		*7 p. m.–6.30 a. m. (under 16).		14 to 16.	
N. J.	14.		8–48–6 (under 16). 10–54–6 (any female).	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females in canneries engaged in packing perishable products such as fruits or vegetables.[11]	7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16). 10 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female).	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females in canneries engaged in packing perishable products such as fruits or vegetables.[11]	14 to 16.	
N. MEX.	14 in any gainful occupation during school hours.		*8–44___[26] (under 16).[27] 8 per day (any female).[28]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females in canneries or other establishments engaged in preparing for use perishable goods.[14]	*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).[27]		14 to 16 (for work in any gainful occupation during school hours).	

N. Y.	*14.	8–44–6 (under 16). 9–54–6 (boy 16 to 18).[29] 8–48–6 (girl 16 to 18).[30]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for boys 16 to 18 employed in canning or preserving perishable products in fruit and canning establishments between June 15 and Oct. 15.[31] Same as in other manufacturing establishments.	5 p. m.–8 a. m. (under 16). 12 midnight–6 a. m. (boy 16 to 18). 9 p. m.–6 a. m. (girl under 21).	*14 to 17.[3]
N. C.	14.	8–48–6 (child under 16, except child between 14 and 16 who has completed fourth grade). 11–60— (under 21).[32]		7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).	14 to 16.
N. DAK.	14.	*8–48–6 (under 16). 8½–48–6 (any female).[33]		*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).	14 to 16.
OHIO.	16 during school hours; 14 outside school hours.[34]	8–48–6 (boy under 16; girl under 18). 10–54–6 (boy 16 to 18).		6 p. m.–7 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18). 10 p. m.–6 a. m. (boy 16 to 18).	16 to 18 during school hours; 14 to 18 outside school hours.
OKLA.	14.	8–48— (under 16). 9–54— (any female).[35]		6 p. m.–7 a. m. (boy under 16; girl under 18).	14 to 16.
OREG.	14 (except child 12 or over during school vacation in nonharmful work, on permit).	*8–48–6 (under 16). *9–48–6 (girl 16 to 18).[36] *10–60–6 (boy 16 to 18).[36]		*6 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16). *After 6 p. m. (girl 16 to 18).[36]	14 to 18.[3]
PA.	*14.	*9–51–6[37] (under 16). *10–54–6 (any female).[38]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females engaged in canning fruit and vegetable products.[14]	*8 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16). *9 p. m.–6 a. m. (girl under 21).	*14 to 16 (age certificate required for child 16 to 18.)[37]

See footnotes at end of table, pp. 221–222.

APPENDIX II.—*State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (Jan. 1, 1930)*—Continued

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
R. I.	*15 during school hours; 14 outside school hours.		9–48--- (under 16). 10–54--- (any female).		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).		*15 to 16 during school hours; 14 to 16 outside school hours.	
S. C.	14.		10–55--- (all employees in cotton or woolen manufacturing establishments).[39]	No regulation.	8 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).[40]		14 to 16.	
S. DAK.	14 (except child whose services are needed for family support, on permit).		*10–54--- (child under 16 and any female).[41]		No regulation.		14 to 16.	
TENN.	*14.		*8–48–6 (under 16). 10½–57--- (any female).[42]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females in fruit and vegetable canneries.[14]	*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).		*14 to 16.	
TEX.	15.		Work in factories prohibited under 15 at any time. 9–54--- (any female).		Work in factories prohibited under 15 at any time. No regulation for child 15 or over.		No certificate required for child 15 or over.	

UTAH.	No regulation except that resulting indirectly from compulsory school attendance laws.[43]		*8–48–– (boy under 14; girl under 16). 8–48–– (any female).[44]	No regulation for boy under 14 or girl under 16 engaged in fruit or vegetable packing.[9] No regulation for female employees in establishments engaged in the packing or canning of perishable fruits or vegetables.[14]	No regulation.	*14 to 18 (under continuation school law) for work during school hours.	
VT.	14.[45]		8–48–6 (under 16).[45] 10½–56–– (minor 16 to 18; any female).[45]		7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).[45]	14 to 16.	
VA.	*14.	12 in fruit and vegetable canneries "where public schools are not actually in session."[46]	*8–44–6 (under 16). 10 per day[47] (any female).	8 per day[47] for child under 16 in fruit and vegetable canneries "where public schools are not actually in session" (under 16).[46] No regulation for females in factories packing fruits or vegetables.[14]	*6 p. m.–7 a. m.	*14 to 16.	12 to 16 in fruit and vegetable canneries "where public schools are not actually in session."[46]
WASH.	14 (except child 12 or over whose services are needed for family support, in occupations not dangerous or injurious to health or morals, on permit).[48]		8–48–6[49] (under 18).		7 p. m.–6 a. m.[49] (under 18).	(50)	
W. VA.	*14.		*8–48–6 (under 16).		*7 p. m.–6 a. m. (under 16).	*14 to 16.	

See footnotes at end of table, pp. 221–222.

APPENDIX II.—*State regulation of labor of minors under 18 in canneries and other manufacturing establishments (Jan. 1, 1930)*—Continued

State	Minimum age		Hours per day, hours per week, and days per week		Night work prohibited		Employment certificates required [1]	
	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries [2]	In manufacturing establishments other than canneries	In canneries
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
WIS.	*14.[51]		*8–48–6 (under 16). *9–50___ (any female).[52]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. 9–50___ (any female in pea-canning factories) [53] (any female in factories canning cherries, beans, corn, strawberries, or tomatoes.[54 55]	*6 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16). 6 p. m.–6 a. m. (any female).	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. During the season of actual canning of the product there is no prohibition of night work for females 16 or over in factories canning peas, beans, cherries, corn, strawberries, or tomatoes, but there must be a period of rest of at least 9 consecutive hours between the ending of work on any day and the beginning of work on the next day.[55]	*14 to 17.[51]	
WYO.	No minimum age except that resulting indirectly from the compulsory school attendance law. (No child whose attendance at school is required by law [56] shall be employed in any occupation.)		*8–48–6 (under 16). *8½–56___ (any female).[57]	Same as in other manufacturing establishments. No regulation for females engaged in the curing, canning, or drying of any variety of perishable fruit or vegetable.[14]	*7 p. m.–7 a. m. (under 16).		No system of certificate issuance.	

* Laws apply to "any occupation," any "gainful" or "remunerative" occupation, or "any establishment," or to a list of specified occupations or establishments (including factories) and in addition to "any other place of labor" or "any other occupation whatsoever." Some of these laws have certain exemptions, however, which do not affect employment in factories or canneries, such as employment in agricultural pursuits, domestic service, theatrical performances, street trades, etc. (All specific exemptions applying to canneries are noted in the table.)

[1] Requirements for employment certificates are in general the same for work when school is in session as for work during vacation (when most cannery employment takes place), *except that in most States the requirement that a child shall have completed a specified school grade is waived for vacation work.* In this table, if there is no footnote indicating the contrary, it is to be understood that the educational requirement is waived.

[2] Regulations applying to all factories or manufacturing establishments are classified as applying to canneries, as according to the usual interpretation canneries are held to be manufacturing establishments.

[3] The educational requirements are *not* waived (see footnote 1) for certificates for work during vacation in the following States: Arizona (fifth grade), Arkansas (fourth grade), Kentucky (fifth grade), New Jersey (sixth grade), New York (eighth grade for child 14, sixth grade for child 15, no requirement for child of 16), Oregon (eighth grade for child under 16).

[4] Where compliance with the act would work irreparable injury to any industry engaged in handling products, such as canning or candy factories, exemption permitted for 90 days a year, provided permission of industrial-welfare commission is obtained; time and one-half is paid for overtime.

[5] Rulings of industrial-welfare commission (orders 8a, 6a, 3a, applying specifically to manufacturing establishments, to the fruit and vegetable canning or packing industry, and to the fish-canning industry).

[6] The law states that a child 14 to 16 (12 to 16 during summer vacation) may be exempted from its provisions upon obtaining a special permit from the city or county superintendent of schools or his deputy, but the provisions in regard to the issuance of these permits appear to limit them to employment in theatrical exhibitions.

[7] Industrial commission may allow overtime in case of emergency, provided the minimum wage is increased.

[8] In event of war or other serious emergency governor may suspend the night-work limitation for such industries and occupations as he may find demanded by such emergency.

[9] Minors in other canneries would be covered by the regulations for minors in all establishments or in manufacturing establishments. (See columns 2, 4, 6, 8.)

[10] 2 hours overtime permitted on 1 day weekly, provided weekly maximum is not exceeded. If any part of work is performed between 11 p. m. and 7 a. m., not more than 8 hours in any 24 hours is permitted.

[11] Females in other canneries would be included under the regulations for females in manufacturing establishments. (See columns 4 and 6.)

[12] Engineers, watchmen, etc., exempted. Time lost on account of accident to machinery may be made up under certain conditions. No regulation for other factories except a provision that the hours of labor for persons under 21 shall be from sunrise to sunset, allowing the usual and customary time for meals.

[13] Compulsory school attendance law appears in effect to raise minimum age for employment during school hours to 15 (child under 15 whose bodily or mental condition renders attendance at school inexpedient is exempted from school attendance).

[14] Females in other canning or packing establishments would be included under the regulations for females in factories. (See column 4.)

[15] The 6-day week for minors and the hours-of-labor provision for females are by order of the public-service commission (now commission of labor and industry).

[16] The provision for a maximum 54-hour week does not apply to boys. Employers engaged in public service are exempted in certain cases of public emergency.

[17] To obtain 1 short day per week, overtime permitted if maximum weekly hours are not exceeded.

[18] 8 hours per day, 48 hours per week, if any part of work is done before 6 a. m. or after 10 p. m.

[19] In manufacturing establishments in which employment is determined by the department of labor and industries to be seasonal the maximum hours may be 52, provided total hours in any year shall not exceed average of 48 per week. Law applies to "laboring" in manufacturing establishments. In employments not coming under this provision the maximum hours are 10 per day, 54 per week, and 6 days per week.

[20] Such employment shall be approved by the department of labor and industry as not injurious to the health of the persons so engaged. Boys under 18 and females in other canneries would be included under the regulations for work in manufacturing establishments. (See columns 4 and 6.)

[21] Except in case of emergency or where public necessity requires.

[22] 30 minutes additional daily permitted for first 5 days of week, to be deducted from last day of week. Cases of emergency or where the public necessity requires are exempted. For night work, 11¼ hours permitted on first 5 nights of week and 3¾ hours on Saturday night, provided weekly hours do not exceed 60. Act does not apply to employers engaged in the handling or converting of perishable agricultural products who employ only adult male labor.

[23] Exempting (1) work or service performed for or under personal supervision or control of child's parent or guardian; (2), industries employing less than 6 persons, in hours when school is not in session.

[24] No limitation, apparently, on employment outside school hours, other than requirement of permit for boy under 14 and girl under 16 employed in factories or any inside employment not connected with farm or housework.

[25] 8 hours during any 24 hours, 48 per week, if employment is at night.

[26] Except under "special circumstances" to be determined by permit-issuing officer and in no case to exceed 48 hours per week.

[27] Child working for parent or guardian on premises or land owned or occupied by him is exempted.

[28] 4 hours weekly overtime allowed if time and a half is paid and total hours of labor for a 7-day week do not exceed 60

[29] 10 hours per day allowed to make shorter work day one day per week.

[30] 9 hours per day, 49½ hours per week, permitted to make 1 shorter work day each week of not more than 4½ hours. In addition, 78 hours of overtime is permitted during any calendar year, in the distribution of which a maximum of 10 hours per day, 54 hours per week, and 6 days per week is allowed.

[31] Work in canneries at other times would be covered by the regulations for boys between 16 and 18 given in column 4.

[32] The maximum 11-hour day applies to all employees; the 60-hour week to all females as well as to minors under 21. Engineers, watchmen, etc., are exempted.

[33] 10 hours per day and 7 days per week permitted in emergencies, provided weekly hour limit of 48 hours is not exceeded. (An emergency is defined to exist in the case of sickness of more than 1 female employed, in which case a physician's certificate must be furnished.)

[34] Exemptions: (1) Child employed in vacation and outside school hours in irregular service, which is defined as work not forbidden by Federal laws, not involving confinement, and not requiring more than 4 hours a day or 24 hours a week (it must also be interrupted by rest or recreation periods, and the district health commissioner must determine whether any given employment comes within this classification); (2), child determined incapable of profiting substantially by further school instruction (but such child can not be employed in a factory or manufacturing establishment under 14 except in "irregular service," as previously defined, and, with this exception, must obtain special certificate for such work if between 14 and 18 years of age).

[35] Manufacturing establishments outside towns or cities of 5,000 population or more and employing less than 5 females are exempted.

[36] Ruling of State industrial-welfare commission.

[37] 6-day week (column 4) and provision for age certificate (column 8) are by rulings of industrial board of State department of labor and industry.

[38] 2 hours additional allowed on not more than 3 days of the week if a legal holiday occurs during the week and the maximum weekly hours are not exceeded.

[39] Engineers, watchmen, etc., exempted. Time lost on account of accident may be made up under certain conditions.

[40] Employment permitted until 9 p. m. to make up time lost on account of accident to machinery.

[41] 12 hours daily is permitted on the 5 days before Christmas.

[42] 10½ hours per day permitted only for the purpose of providing 1 short day in the week.

[43] Certain specified dangerous or injurious occupations in factories, however, are prohibited in the case of employees under 16.

[44] Law exempts manufacturers of containers for perishable fruits and vegetables during the packing season. Cases of emergency when life or property is in imminent danger also exempted.

[45] Commissioner of industries, with the approval of the governor, may suspend provision for period not exceeding 2 months in any 1 year in the case of a manufacturing establishment or business the materials and products of which are perishable and require immediate labor thereon to prevent decay or damage.

[46] Fruit and vegetable canneries at other times, as well as other types of canneries, would be covered by the regulations for all gainful occupations. (See columns 2, 4, and 8.)

[47] 6-day week through enforcement of section 4570 of the Code of 1919, prohibiting work on Sunday, would result in a 60-hour week for females in manufacturing establishments (column 4) and a 48-hour week for children under 16 in fruit and vegetable canneries where public schools are not in session (column 5).

[48] At the time of the study of fruit and vegetable canneries made by the Children's Bureau in Washington (1923) no minimum-age provision was in effect, owing to the fact that this law (passed in 1907) was, under an opinion of the State attorney general, held to be repealed by the Penal Code of 1909. According to a later attorney general's opinion, however (Oct. 1, 1924), the minimum age of 14, with the exemptions specified, is now in effect.

[49] Order of industrial-welfare committee of State department of labor and industry.

[50] Judges issue permits to boys under 14 and girls under 16 in factories or any inside employment not connected with farmwork or housework; local school authorities in places where continuation schools are established issue employment certificates to minors between 14 and 18 leaving school for work. The school attendance law requires school-exemption certificates issued by school superintendents for all children under 15 employed during school hours. In addition the industrial-welfare committee of State department of labor and industry has the duty of supervising the administration of the laws relating to child labor and issues certificates to boys between 14 and 18 and to girls between 16 and 18 (i. e., above the ages for which judges issue permits).

[51] Child 12 to 14 may be employed during school vacation, on permit, in certain specified establishments and occupations, but not in factories or canneries.

[52] 10 hours daily may be worked during emergency periods of not more than 4 weeks in any year if time and a half is paid for overtime and if the weekly hours worked do not exceed 55. If work is at night, the maximum hours fixed are 8 per night.

[53] 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week are allowed in pea canneries during the season of the "actual canning of the product." In emergencies women 17 years of age or over may work 11 hours daily, 60 hours weekly, on not more than 8 days during the season, if 33 cents an hour is paid for all hours in excess of 9 per day

[54] 9 hours per day, 54 hours per week are allowed in factories canning cherries, beans, corn, strawberries, or tomatoes during the season of the "actual canning of the product." In emergencies women 17 years of age or over may work 10 hours daily, 60 hours weekly, on not more than 8 days during the season, if 33 cents an hour is paid for all hours in excess of 9 per day.

[55] Females employed in the specified canneries before and after the season of the "actual canning of the product" and females employed at any time in other canneries would be covered by the regulations for females in factories. (See columns 4 and 6.)

[56] The following children are required by law to attend school: Children between 14 and 17 years of age except those who (1) are physically incapacitated; (2), have completed the 8th grade; (3), are excluded from school for legal reasons; (4), are excused by district board because law would "work a hardship" to the child.

[57] Indefinite overtime allowed when an emergency exists or unusual pressing business or necessity demands it, if time and a half is paid for every hour of overtime in any 1 day.

APPENDIX III.—STATE REGULATION OF LABOR CAMPS[1]

[Prepared in the industrial division of the Children's Bureau, by Ella Arvilla Merritt and Lucy Manning]

State laws or regulations specifically regulating camps for housing industrial workers [2] are found in the following States, in which the canning industry is important.[3]

Arkansas (labor camps).
California (labor camps).
Delaware (labor camps).
Maryland (cannery camps only).
Michigan (labor camps).
Minnesota (labor camps).
New Jersey (labor camps).
New York (department of labor regulations cover camps for factory and cannery workers; board of health regulations cover all labor camps).
Oregon (board of health regulations cover all labor camps; industrial-welfare commission orders cover hop yards, berry fields, orchards, and packing houses where women or minors are employed).
Pennsylvania (labor camps).
Utah (labor camps).
Washington (labor camps).
Wisconsin (labor camps).

These provisions are briefly summarized as follows:

Arkansas.—The State board of health, under its authority [4] to make all necessary and reasonable rules for the protection of the public health, has promulgated rules for camps and resorts,[5] which apply to all industries requiring the establishment of camps. All buildings shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition and shall be screened, and pure and wholesome water shall be furnished in sufficient quantities for drinking and domestic purposes. All garbage and refuse shall be disposed of so as not to create a nuisance or to contaminate drinking water. Other regulations relate to location of toilets and cleanliness of walls and floors of buildings.

California.—The California law [6] applies to all camps in which five persons or more are employed and covers sanitary conditions in bunk houses, tents, and all other sleeping and living quarters. The provisions of the law relate to structural conditions, cleanliness, sufficient air space, construction of beds and bunks, screening, bathing and toilet facilities, disposal of garbage, and general cleanliness and sanitary conditions. The State commission of immigration and housing had charge of enforcement until 1927. (Since that time the law has been enforced by the division of housing and sanitation of the department of industrial relations.) An advisory pamphlet [7] has been issued setting out supplementary and explanatory rules and recommendations and giving detailed directions, with illustrations, as to location and layout of camps,

[1] Information as of Jan. 1, 1929.

[2] Omitting laws relating only to camps for workers on highways and public improvements and those relating only to boarding houses for laborers.

[3] This summary is limited to the 20 States for which in 1925 the United States Census of Manufactures reported either an average number of wage earners of more than 1,000 or 50 or more establishments engaged in fruit and vegetable canning; i. e., Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. (Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1925, Canning and Preserving, Table 11, p. 84. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1928.)

[4] Ark., Laws of 1913, No. 96.

[5] Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Health of Arkansas, November, 1928, Nos. 267–277 (Regulations for Camps and Resorts).

[6] Calif., Laws of 1913, ch. 182, as amended by Laws of 1915, ch. 329, Laws of 1919, ch. 164, and Laws of 1921, ch. 767; Laws of 1927, ch. 440.

[7] Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing (revised, 1926, reprinted, 1928). Commission of Immigration and Housing of California.

water supply, sleeping quarters, disposal of garbage and sewage, toilets, baths, and other sanitary aspects. Under the rules set forth in this pamphlet, sleeping quarters with wooden floors and provided with bunks or beds should be furnished, with at least 500 cubic feet of air space for each person and a window area equal to one-eighth of the floor space. Toilets, separate for the sexes, should be provided in a sufficient number to give one seat for every 15 persons. Bathing facilities, with at least one shower for each 15 persons, should be supplied. The commission offers to cooperate in the solution of camp problems and, whenever necessary, to send a camp expert for personal consultation and advice at no expense to the owner or operator of the camp.

Recommendations for day nurseries and playgrounds for children, as adjuncts to canneries, including rules as to equipment and personnel, have also been formulated by the division of housing and sanitation in cooperation with representatives of a number of canneries.

Delaware.—The State board of health has made regulations,[8] effective in 1920, concerning the sanitation of labor and other camps, including those incident to canneries. Camps are required to be located on high ground. The water supply must be abundant for all purposes, including baths, and if spring water is used the source and course must be kept free from pollution. The regulations also extend to construction and location of toilets, disposal of garbage, and screening of food supplies.[9]

Maryland.—In Maryland the only legal provisions relating to labor camps [10] are a part of the general sanitary law regulating canneries, factories, bakeries, etc., enforced by the State board of health. They specify in general terms that living quarters provided by the canner shall have waterproof roofs and tight board floors, that "ample light and ventilation" and proper separation and privacy of sexes must be provided, and that the occupants shall keep the quarters in a clean and sanitary condition. An adequate supply of pure drinking water must be furnished within reasonable distance. Both the cannery and the living quarters apparently are covered by the general provision that no litter, drainage, or waste matter of any kind shall be allowed in or around the buildings, and the surroundings shall be kept in a clean and sanitary condition.

Michigan.—The Michigan law,[11] which is part of the general factory law, is administered by the State department of labor and industry. It applies to "any employer engaged in construction of railroad or other work" and relates to premises for sleeping or living accommodations furnished by the employer for his employees, requiring that they "shall be maintained in a cleanly and sanitary condition and kept sufficiently heated and well lighted and ventilated." The powers of inspection given in the act are limited to factories (including canneries), stores, and hotels, but the law creating the department of labor gives the commissioner and his appointees under his direction power to inspect "all manufacturing establishments, workshops, hotels, stores, and all places where labor is employed."

Minnesota.—Regulations relating to industrial camp sanitation [12] have been issued by the State board of health under its authority to regulate the construction, equipment, and sanitary conditions of lumber and other industrial camps.[13] These regulations apply to all industrial camps where 10 or more men are employed and housed in temporary quarters. Every temporary building or inclosure, except tents, occupied as sleeping quarters shall contain at least 225 cubic feet of air space for each occupant and must be supplied with windows of such size that the total net window area equals 5 per cent of the floor area. The regulations also extend to bunks, construction of floors, construction of toilets, separate toilet facilities for men and women (in a ratio of one seat for every 10 persons if 100 persons or fewer are employed), cleaning and screening, provision for an ample and safe water supply from a source that will meet the requirements of the State board of health, and the disposal of all refuse, garbage, and other waste matter.

---

[8] Regulations of State board of health, ch. 14, Sanitation of Camps.

[9] A Delaware law passed in 1915 (Laws of 1915, ch. 228) relating to sanitary conditions in canneries and canning camps was held unconstitutional in 1925 by the State attorney general. It contained provisions in regard to cannery camps practically identical with those of the Maryland law, requiring that living quarters furnished by the canner should have waterproof roofs and tight board floors, that provision should be made for "ample light and ventilation" and for proper separation and privacy of the sexes, and that the surroundings should be kept in a clean and sanitary condition.

[10] Md., Laws of 1914, ch. 678, secs. 3, 4; Ann. Code 1924, art. 43, secs. 203, 204.

[11] Mich., Laws of 1909, No. 285, sec. 17, as amended by Laws of 1915, No. 3.

[12] Regulations of State board of health, issued Feb. 15, 1928, Nos. 231–245, Industrial Camp Sanitation.

[13] Minn., Gen. Stat. 1923, sec. 5345.

New Jersey.—The Sanitary Code of the State department of health [14] requires that every person or corporation establishing any labor camp or temporary living quarters for workmen shall notify the local health officer or secretary of the local board of health. The local health officer is required to inspect the camp promptly, or to have such inspection made, and to examine into its sanitary condition. All tents, buildings, and surrounding grounds shall at all times be kept free and clean from refuse accumulations.[15]

New York.—The New York law empowers the industrial commissioner to enter and inspect all labor camps [16] and gives the department of labor [17] to regulate sanitary conditions of such camps in cases where an employer conducts a factory [18] and furnishes to his employees living quarters at a place outside the factory. The employer is required to maintain such living quarters in a sanitary condition and in accordance with rules adopted by the State industrial board of the State department of labor. Rules have been promulgated by the board which apply specifically to the sanitation of cannery labor camps. Roofs and walls must be water-tight, floors must be kept in repair, and regulations are made as to the construction of floors and interior partitions. Not less than 400 cubic feet of air space for each person must be provided in sleeping quarters, except that a minimum of 200 feet is sufficient for each child under 14. At least two rooms must be provided for each family composed of husband and wife and one or more children above the age of 10 years. All living quarters except tents must be built with windows, with at least one window with an area of at least 4 square feet to each room, and the window openings must be screened. The arrangement and spacing of bunks is also regulated. Separate toilets for the sexes shall be provided, constructed, and placed on the grounds in accordance with specified rules, the number required being one to each 20 persons of each sex occupying the living quarters.[19] Water obtained from a source and in quantities satisfactory to the commissioner of labor must be furnished for drinking and washing purposes. Provision is also made for bathing and laundry facilities and for proper drainage of the grounds and the disposal of garbage and waste matter. The employer is responsible for the enforcement of these rules.[20]

In addition to these provisions, the regulations established by the State public-health council for labor camps in general should also be considered. These require that notice of any labor camp occupied by 5 or more persons shall be given to the local health officer, and a permit must be obtained if the camp is to be occupied by more than 10 persons for a period of more than six days. The provisions apply chiefly to drainage, water supply, pollution of waters, sewage, waste and garbage disposal, and communicable diseases.[21]

Oregon.—The State board of health under its power [22] to make and enforce rules and regulations for the preservation of the public health has adopted a regulation [23] requiring permission to be obtained from the jurisdictional health officer for the establishment of any labor or industrial camp in which there are five or more persons. This official must inspect the site and pass on the purity of the water. He must also prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary for the preservation of the health of those employed and of the general public. The location of all such camps must be reported to the State health officer by the county health officer. In addition, the board has issued certain instructions and recommendations relative to the proper sanitation of camps, placing upon the management of the camps the responsibility for failing to comply with them. The supply of water shall be carefully decided upon, and if a camp is to remain several weeks the water shall be provided from an absolutely uncontaminated source. Bunk houses must be provided with suitable roof ventilation so that each person shall have at least 3,000 cubic feet of fresh air per hour, and there must be

[14] N. J., Comp. Stat. 1910, p. 2656.
[15] N. J., Sanitary Code, ch. 10, Regulations Governing the Conduct of Camps enacted by the State department of health, July 6, 1920, Regulations 1–4.
[16] N. Y., Labor Law, sec. 212.
[17] N. Y., Labor Law, sec. 298.
[18] "Factory" includes a mill, workshop, or other manufacturing establishment and all buildings, sheds, structures, or other places used for or in connection therewith, where 1 or more persons are employed at manufacturing, including making, altering, repairing, finishing, bottling, canning, cleaning, or laundering any article or thing, in whole or in part, except certain establishments not pertinent to the present discussion.
[19] For camps housing more than 100 persons the ratio may be 1 to each 25 persons.
[20] N. Y., Industrial Code, 1920, Rules 200–232, p. 188.
[21] Sanitary Code, State public-health council, ch. V., Regulations 1–22 (reprinted in Industrial Code, 1920, p. 191).
[22] Oreg., Laws of 1920, sec. 8360.
[23] State board of health Regulations, No. 82.

a minimum of 500 cubic feet of air space per person in sleeping quarters. Roofs, walls, and floors shall be weather-tight.

In addition, the State industrial-welfare commission has issued an order [24] relating to sanitary conditions in hop yards, berry fields, orchards, and in packing houses for fruit, vegetables, and fish, which requires that dry closets be provided at convenient places in camp grounds and that they be disinfected weekly. This order also requires employers to provide every camp ground with receptacles for garbage and refuse and at least twice each week to empty such receptacles and make sanitary disposal of the garbage.

Pennsylvania.—Rules have been prescribed by the Industrial Board of Pennsylvania which apply to all types of labor camps.[25] A license, effective for one year, must be obtained from the department of labor and industry for the operation of any such camp. The license is revocable at any time after a hearing. Each room used as sleeping or living quarters, except tents, shall have not less than one window opening directly to the outer air with an area of not less than 6 square feet. In rooms occupied by more than three persons the window space shall not be less than 2 square feet for each occupant, and 400 cubic feet of air space for each occupant shall be provided in each room used for sleeping purposes except in railroad mobile camp equipment and in seasonal camps, operated between April 1 and October 31, in which 250 cubic feet shall be accepted. Living and sleeping quarters shall be screened during the fly season. Families with one or more children 10 years of age must be provided with two rooms, and, except in the housing of families, sleeping accommodations shall be provided in rooms which are separate for each sex. An adequate supply of pure water shall be provided for drinking, culinary, bathing, and laundry purposes. The rules also cover construction of buildings, arrangement and spacing of beds, cots, or bunks, construction of toilets, washing and bathing facilities with separate provision for the sexes, and drainage of premises. The number of toilets to be provided in camps without sewer connections shall be one for each 20 persons of each sex, with one additional for each 25 additional persons or fractional part thereof of each sex.[26] Responsibility for compliance with these rules is placed upon the owner and upon the lessee or manager of the camp.

Utah.—The Utah law requires [27] that any contractor or other person or corporation establishing an industrial camp of any kind shall report its location to the State board of health and shall comply with the regulations of that board regarding their maintenance.[28] These regulations require that the location of all labor camps to be occupied by 5 or more persons shall be reported to the board of health, and if the camp is to be occupied by 10 or more persons for more than six days a permit must be obtained. The arrangement, drainage, and location of camp buildings are regulated. Sleeping quarters must have a minimum of 400 cubic feet of air, 50 square feet of floor space, and 3 square feet of window area a person. The water supply, unless chlorinated, must be obtained from an approved source. Suitable and convenient toilets approved by the State board must be provided, and provision must be made for adequate bathing facilities, for screening of kitchen, eating, and bunk houses, and for the disposal of garbage and other waste matter. Camp buildings and surrounding grounds must be kept in a clean and sanitary condition.

Washington.—The State board of health under its general powers [29] has made regulations concerning labor camps [30] practically identical with those made by the State board of health in Oregon (see above).

Wisconsin.—The regulations of the State board of health [31] require persons establishing permanent or temporary individual camps of whatever nature to

---

[24] Industrial welfare commission Order No. 49.

[25] Department of labor and industry, Regulations for Labor Camps, effective Sept. 24, 1926 (reprinted 1927). Stat. 1920, sec. 13613.

[26] In camps with sewer connections the number to be provided varies according to a ratio based on the maximum number of persons of each sex living at any one time in the camp; for less than 10 persons the ratio is 1 to 10; for 10 to 25 persons, 1 to 12½; for 25 to 50 persons, 1 to 16⅔; for 50 to 80 persons, 1 to 20; for 80 to 125 persons, 1 to 25; for each additional 45 persons, 1 additional toilet.

[27] Utah, Laws of 1921, ch. 149.

[28] State Health Laws and Regulations, issued by State board of health, 1925, pp. 58–61 (Regulations Relating to Industrial or Construction Camps, Nos. 1–28).

[29] Wash., Remington's Comp. Stat. 1922, sec. 6011.

[30] Rules and Regulations of the State board of health, revised and adopted Aug. 29, 1927, secs. 63 and 64, pp. 44–47.

[31] Wisconsin State Board of Health, Regulations Relating to Camp Sanitation, as amended June 29, 1920.

report the location to the State health officer. The regulations cover location of the camps, disposal of garbage, refuse, and waste water, cleanliness, construction and location of toilets, and construction of floors. Every inclosure occupied as sleeping quarters shall contain 225 cubic feet of air space for every occupant and shall be supplied with windows, constructed so as to open. In addition to windows, other means of ventilating the sleeping, dining, and living quarters by having inlet and outlet ducts of sufficient area must be provided to keep the atmosphere reasonably pure, such provision to meet the approval of the State board of health. All kitchen, eating, and bunk houses should be screened during the summer months. The water supply must be adequate and pure.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 05708 5241

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 05708 5266

FEB 1 8 1932